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ABSTRACT

This book is the final outcome of a research project begun in 1981 by the International Institute for Educational Planning under the title, "Planning and Management of Formal and Nonformal Education within Integrated Rural Development Projects." Part 1 reports the concluding 1984 Nepal seminar to pinpoint the real role of education as a force of rural development and establish relevant issues for future educational planning/research. Chapter I elaborates distinctions between four rural development approaches: production-orientation, equating rural development with alleviation of poverty, viewing rural development as the total of separate projects, and long-term transformation based on mobilization of the peasantry. Chapter II addresses problems/dimensions of integration in rural development. Chapter III reviews discussions of the role of education in rural development. Chapter IV considers components of diversified basic education. Chapter V reviews needs/directions of future research and lessons for improved educational planning/management. Part 2 presents three case studies on education for integrated development. The Ethiopian study analyzes reality behind the term "integration" in rural areas and assesses behavioral/attitudinal outcomes of different forms of education. The Indian study is a detailed assessment of two projects with a strong element of nonformal education. The Bangladesh study examines literacy levels and school education as an explanatory but also dependent variable in the context of social/economic factors relevant to rural development. (NEC)

Report of an IIEP research project directed by
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Education and rural development: issues for planning and research

Edited by D. Berstecher

with contributions from
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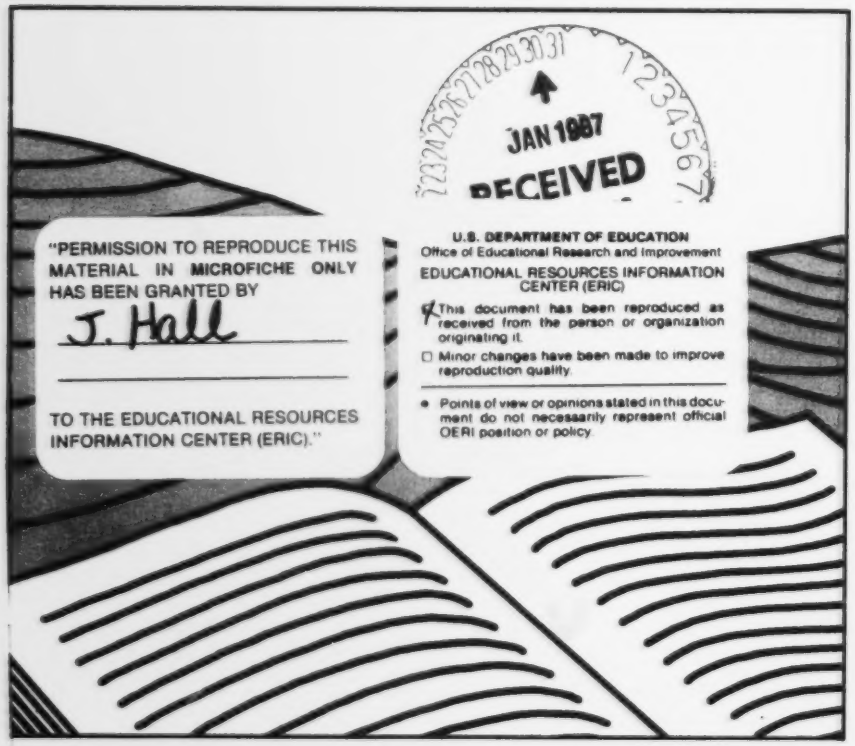

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Preface

The overriding importance of the rural sector and of rural people in the development process is unquestionable. Rural development was, in particular, a key theme of the Second Development Decade which began, significantly, with the World Conference on Agricultural Education and Training, held in Copenhagen in 1970. The notion that education is a principal force of rural development was then widely held.

However, critics began to argue that this was rather an act of faith, not as yet underpinned by solid empirical evidence. In the early 1970s educational policies of the day were criticized for '... excessive emphasis laid on formal education, the inappropriateness of school syllabi, the limitations which hamper the initiative of individual teachers, methods of teaching which are out of date and unproductive, the worship of paper qualifications, the wrong-headed guidance of the best pupils towards vocations which have nothing to do with rural development...'.

Since then, a vast amount of scholarly thought and practical action has been aimed at turning education into a truly positive force of rural development. Unesco's programmes during the 1970s and 1980s were permeated with endeavours to renovate and re-orient education in rural areas. In several developing countries new models of rural primary schools have been promoted and field operational seminars held, with education for rural development as a major topic often leading to regional co-operation within the framework of Unesco.

Today many more schools, better trained teachers, new curricula and textbooks can be found in the rural areas of developing countries. These achievements notwithstanding, large numbers of illiterates, landlessness, stagnant or falling food production *per capita*, and absolute poverty unfortunately remain hallmarks of too many contemporary societies.

Thus, the issues of rural development and rural education still pose a formidable challenge. At the same time, the principal vectors of action and thought in this field have significantly evolved. The very concept of rural development demands searching analysis beyond answers limiting it to agricultural development and improved quality of life. Likewise, education

presents itself as an increasingly diversified field in which the school finds its complement, or substitute, in a host of more or less structured institutions and programmes. 'Integration', not a very transparent term itself, is being more and more emphasized as a key attribute of successful rural development planning.

In the spirit of Unesco's Medium-Term Plan it behoved the International Institute for Educational Planning to apply its experience and techniques to a study of the relationships between education and rural development, and in the process, to try and go beyond some of the available answers.

The present book is the final outcome of a research project which was started in 1981 under the title 'Planning and Management of Formal and Nonformal Education within Integrated Rural-development Projects'. Its pragmatic orientation is, we think, unmistakable. This is particularly true for the case studies, which appear in Part Two and which examine with great caution what can be expected from education. They emphasize the merit of carefully assessing the limited consequences of specific educational programmes, and try to pinpoint the conditions in which these occur. On the whole, this book allows us to pinpoint more clearly the real rôle of education as a force of development. It attempts to set out soberly and concretely the nature of the relevant issues for educational planning and research in the 1980s in the face of the natural and pressing demands for social justice from the rural illiterates.

As is customary with IIEP research, the effort that led to this book involved several partners. Of these, the three national research teams from Bangladesh, Ethiopia, and India who carried out case studies have been vital. We wish to acknowledge with gratitude their important intellectual contribution to our joint research.

Our special appreciation goes to Dr Fassil G. Kiros, author of the Ethiopian case study, who also acted as rapporteur at the international seminar attended by the case-study authors and eminent specialists from all regions of the world in May 1984.

Nicholas Bennett hosted and organized that Seminar in the mountains of Western Nepal where, since 1978, he has devoted his talent to a remarkable project on education for rural development. We owe a great deal to his experience and wish to record the inspiring nature of his personal dedication.

The IIEP gratefully acknowledges the financial support given by the Governments of the Federal Republic of Germany and of Sweden, as well as by the World Bank and UNICEF, at various phases of this research project. We are particularly indebted to the German Foundation for International Development for their professional and financial co-operation.

Sylvain Lourié
Director, IIEP

Contents

Introduction
by Dieter Berstecher 9

Part One: The Nepal Seminar
by Dieter Berstecher and Fassil G. Kiros 21

I. Rural development: the spectrum of views and experiences 23

II. Problems of integration in rural development 33

III. The rôle of education in rural development 43

IV. Schooling, literacy and nonformal skill training: the need for linkages 54

V. Lessons for planning and research 64

Part Two: Three case studies 73

VI. Education for integrated rural development in Ethiopia: an examination of the problems of transition
by Fassil G. Kiros 75

VII. Planning and management of education within integrated rural development projects in India
by A.S. Seetharamu 138

VIII. The rôle of education in integrated rural development in Bangladesh
by M. Balaghatullah and S.A. Qadir 182

Bibliography 229

Appendix I: List of participants in the Nepal Seminar 233

Appendix II: Technical papers presented to the Nepal Seminar 235

Introduction

Dieter Berstecher

Research: IIEP's work on education and rural development

Researchers at IIEP have been concerned with the relationships between education and rural development during the last ten years. In 1975 a research seminar held jointly with the Swedish International Development Agency outlined those problems of rural education which were likely to fall within the Institute's mandate. That seminar identified and discussed five problem areas of particular interest:

—political and planning aspects of rural education;
—administrative and organizational problems and, in particular, issues of community participation;
—the kinds of learning which should be associated with the concept of 'basic' education in rural areas;
—issues of equity and efficiency in rural education;
—the contribution of education to rural employment and economic development.

The research project on 'Determination of Learning Needs in Rural Areas', launched in 1977, explored particularly the third of these problem areas in greater depth. Case studies examined a number of educational-reform projects in Africa with the following questions in mind: how and by whom are rural learning needs determined? In what ways do they relate to basic human needs, occupational requirements, and other concerns of socio-economic development? Is it possible to distinguish learning needs common to all from the specific needs of particular groups of learners? And finally, what are the rôles played by formal and nonformal education in meeting rural learning needs, and how have these rôles been allocated?

If the evidence unearthed by these first studies remained rather limited, two observations of some importance for future IIEP research nevertheless stand out: first, the process of assessing and structuring learning needs can provide an operational link between educational planning and other aspects of rural development; and second, the integration of education with the development

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goals and projects of rural communities is a key factor in increasing the relevance of education.

Another of the five original problem areas was examined in the context of the IIEP research project on 'The Organization of Education in Remote Rural Areas', launched in 1978. Case studies of remote rural districts in Nepal and Sudan provided the working material which served to analyse the reality of school administration at the local level, its difficult relationships with higher echelons, and the variety of constraints it faces in improving the quality of teaching/learning processes and obtaining the co-operation of the local community. Whilst this project included a thoroughgoing analysis of organizational and management issues in school education in rural areas, it was not designed to throw any light on the rôle of nonformal education and did not systematically consider education's contribution to, and integration with, rural development.

It is this latter concern which became paramount in a third IIEP research project devoted to the rôle of education in rural development. This project was launched in 1981 under the working title 'Planning and Management of Formal and Nonformal Education within Integrated Rural Development Projects'. Its starting-point was a frequently observed paradox: on the one hand, practitioners and theoreticians of development planning are firmly agreed that integrated rural development is incomplete and doomed to failure without an in-built education and training component; on the other hand, school education almost everywhere resists attempts to align it with the rural environment, and to bring it under the purview of so-called integrated rural-development programmes. At the same time, its links with other educational and training activities of the nonformal variety seem frequently ill-coordinated or non-existent. Yet, in most countries, a diversified educational field has emerged, involving a variety of institutions and offering a broad spectrum of formal or less formal education and training activities. How these are or could be mutually integrated, and how they are able to reinforce other, non-educational aspects of rural development, are questions of critical importance.

Weighing the assumed importance of education for rural development against the difficulties of integrating it effectively into development action, the IIEP research project set itself the following objectives:

—to examine the impact of education (formal and nonformal) on rural development, a concept which is to include both economic and social dimensions;

—to analyse the extent of 'integration' in the planning and management of rural development, between different development sectors as well as between higher and lower levels of the delivery system;

—to assess, more specifically, the rôle of education as a vehicle of integration at the community level, notably through increased awareness of and participation in development activities;

—to see what problems of co-ordination and mutual reinforcement may exist within the educational field itself, in particular, between the school and different nonformal programmes.

It was decided to explore the above questions, as far as possible, through case studies. A workshop attended by a number of research specialists discussed the appropriate methodology. There could be no question of adopting a strictly uniform research design for the different national case studies: rural development is subject to a variety of conditions and priorities. The much-used label of 'integrated rural development' means widely different things in different countries. Likewise, the reality of education in rural areas—the relative importance of literacy programmes, nonformal skill training, and school education—varies substantially from one country to the other. Hence, in order not to miss out on what is essential and specific to a given national development context, each case study was to choose its own, most appropriate research format. However, there are certain common features as well: the workshop suggested that each study should select a cluster of rural communities in which organized government programmes of integrated rural development were in progress; special attention was to be paid to those with a substantial education and training component. The analysis itself should, as far as possible, combine quantitative and qualitative approaches. Neither the multi-variate statistical analysis that characterizes many studies in this field, nor the anthropological micro-approach that is found in others, is on its own sufficient.

Three research institutes from developing countries subsequently undertook case studies, assisted by the IIEP in matters of research design, questionnaire formulation, and data analysis. Each treated their common theme along different lines, singling out one or the other aspect for in-depth analysis:

—The Institute of Development Research of Addis Ababa University, Ethiopia, prepared a study entitled 'Education for Integrated Rural Development in Ethiopia: an Examination of the Problems of Transition'. The study analyses in depth the reality behind the term 'integration' as it operates in rural areas—its organizational as well as participatory aspects. It also seeks to assess the behavioural and attitudinal outcomes of different forms of education, including Ethiopia's national literacy campaign.

—The Institute of Development Studies in Dhaka, Bangladesh, undertook a study on 'The Role of Education in Integrated Rural Development in Bangladesh'. Set in four rural communities in Bangladesh, the study examines literacy levels and school education as an explanatory, but also dependent variable in the context of various social and economic factors relevant to rural development.

—The Institute of Social and Economic Change in Bangalore, India, prepared a study on 'Planning and Management of Education within Integrated Rural Development Projects in India'. As the title indicates, the study focuses on a detailed assessment of two integrated rural development projects with a strong element of nonformal education.

The three case studies, summary versions of which appear in Part Two of this book, were completed in the course of 1983. The moment seemed opportune to take stock of their findings, to view them in the light of earlier research done at the IIEP and elsewhere, and to draw lessons for improved planning and

management of education in the context of rural development. This confrontation of ideas took the form of an international seminar, attended by the case-study authors and other researchers, as well as persons with practical experience and responsibility in the field of education and rural development. It seemed only natural that a seminar of this kind should not confine itself to theoretical discussions in the detached setting of the Institute's premises in Paris. To the confrontation of ideas, another kind of confrontation had to be added: that between theory and practice.

The Institute, therefore, took advantage of an invitation by the Government of Nepal to hold the Seminar in the mountains of western Nepal, site of a challenging pilot project on 'Education for Rural Development'. Their experience of hard work in difficult material conditions, of project goals accomplished, of setbacks and perseverance, proved to be an essential backdrop to the Seminar discussions.

Practice: education and rural development in the mountains of western Nepal[1]

In October 1981 the Government of Nepal launched a pilot project on 'Education and Rural Development' in one of the educationally and economically most backward parts of the country. Unesco, UNICEF, and UNDP agreed to co-operate in this project, with financial assistance totalling some 2.5 million US$ over a 5-year period. In an attempt to set a precedent, the project staff decided to live and work throughout in the small and remote district headquarters of Doti. Doti district, together with the adjacent districts of Bajhang and Bajura, forms the project area (see Map 1). Like much of rural Nepal, the project area is very mountainous. Its villages can be reached only after hours or even days of arduous trekking from the nearest roadhead or airport. The only other means of transport available are horses and mules.

In terms of overall development, the project area suffers from a permanent food deficit; if the national average is any indication, income *per capita* in real terms has barely kept pace with population growth over the last 20 years, and *per capita* food production has actually fallen. Regular natural disasters add to the survival problem. In order to maintain their families, a substantial part of the male labour force are forced to migrate seasonally or for longer periods. As in other rural areas of the country, many of the brightest and most ambitious young people have left for yet another reason—that of furthering their education in the towns. The project area offers the educated nothing to read, and little reason to write.

The educational system, part of this larger context of economic underdevelopment and stagnation, is in a state of profound crisis. One symptom is

1. The account provided in this section draws largely from Seminar paper No. 2 by Nicholas Bennett, *Action not words: the need to make education a force for rural development*, as well as from a later paper by the same author (1984).

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MAP 1. *Location of the project area in Nepal.*

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the irrelevance of curricula and teaching methods. Rural boys and girls are taught to read and write, although the written word has virtually no place in village life. Many lapse back into illiteracy shortly after leaving school. English is taught from grade 4, though most teachers themselves cannot speak or read English. Science is taught as facts to be memorized rather than as a way of thinking; the case is similar with most other subjects, which are memorized only to be regurgitated in examinations.

The latter cast a powerful spell over the whole educational system: formal education does meet the short-term needs of various élite groups in the society by enabling their children to study abroad and gain professional qualifications that will enable them to find relatively well paid jobs; but at the same time, it provides a much larger group with the illusion that they have only to obtain certain paper qualifications and they will be able to break out from the cycle of poverty and insecurity.

But the most serious problem is not to be found at the level of overall orientations or ideologies. It is squarely a problem of disheartening inefficiency. Based on its visits to many rural schools in the area, the project staff had to conclude that '... before we can even think of reforming the educational system to make it a force for rural development, we must first tackle the problems of inefficiency, so that it becomes an efficient delivery system for whatever message it is designed to transmit'.[1] Student attendance is very low, and does not average more than 50 to 60 per cent throughout the year. Girls and women, as well as certain ethnic or caste groups, participate only rarely in educational programmes. There is a very high rate of drop-out: it is not uncommon to find, say, 50 students in grade one, 15 in grade two, and six or seven only in grades three, four, and five. Most village teachers tend to take on teaching as a second job. About 30 per cent of them are actually absent on any day. They hardly ever prepare any lesson; even trained teachers do not generally seem to use any other method than reading from the textbook. School buildings are usually in poor condition, without furniture or any amenities. The only educational materials seen are textbooks. All too often, the school is built in an isolated place, on the top of a hill far from the village. Few schools are open for more than 140 days a year, as opposed to the regulation 220 days. There is very little community participation in the affairs of the school, except for initial construction of the building. Visits by the district supervisors are few.

This desolate situation of rural schools is mirrored, in global terms, by one of the lowest proportions of educational budgets anywhere devoted to primary and adult education. The teaching of adults, in particular, receives only scant attention.

How can a project of 'education for rural development' hope to tackle a situation so dismal both economically and educationally? Its initial strategies were based on two working premises—both of which would seem to be of interest beyond the immediate context of rural Nepal.

1. Seminar paper No. 2 by N. Bennett, page 6.

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First, the sheer physical presence of educational institutions and personnel throughout most of the rural areas makes them a unique tool of development. Almost every village in Nepal is within relatively easy access of a school, and teachers are actually living in a significant proportion of villages. There are more than fifteen times as many schools as there are hospitals and health posts, and probably at least ten times as many teachers residing in villages as all other government workers combined. If each of this huge cadre of teachers were given training in only one development skill, surely there could be an immediate impact on rural development.

Second, the project staff argue that many development problems are due, in large part, to a lack of attention being paid to development-oriented education. Some of the most serious problems confronting the rural areas of Nepal at present do not, in fact, require any significant physical inputs, but only an awareness amongst the peasants that the problems exist, and a desire to solve them. For example, if compost pits were made, more of a better-quality manure would be produced. If latrines were built and used, intestinal problems could be reduced significantly. If fruit trees and vegetables were planted, nutritional standards would improve. And if for every tree cut down, two were planted, the problem of fuel scarcities and soil erosion could be solved.

Based on these two premises, the project started its work less than three years ago. The first activity was to carry out base-line research in the project area: what do the rural people learn traditionally, and how? What knowledge, attitudes and practices exist among the villagers? What do teachers actually do, and what are they capable of doing? And finally, what is the precise location and number of schools, teachers and students in the three districts?

The research findings led the project staff to put into practice a strategy involving eight steps:

—The first step in making education a force for rural development is to make the rural educational system, as it exists, more efficient and effective; the principal means employed is a system of schools turned into resource centres which supervise, train and improve the surrounding satellite schools;

—The second is to concentrate efforts on basic education, that is primary schools, nonformal learning groups for girls, primary-teacher training, and adult-education classes;

—The third is to make the school itself both a demonstration centre for development activities, and a resource centre which can provide various services to the local people;

—The fourth is to retrain the teachers. In addition to teaching skills, each teacher is to be trained in one development skill, e.g., primary health care, or agriculture, or family planning, etc.;

—The fifth is to ensure that both children and adults have access to useful and entertaining printed materials after they have completed their schooling or adult-education classes;

—The sixth is to reduce dramatically the content that is taught to children and adults, so that what is taught can be absorbed and applied;

—The seventh is to provide educational programmes with small but significant development inputs, such as seeds, fruit trees, water pipes, medicines, etc.;
—The final step, and from the viewpoint of the project staff the most important, is to change the whole process of teaching and learning. It is necessary to break away from the idea that education has as its main objective the academic preparation of children for continuously higher levels of education. If basic education is to become a force of development, the curriculum must include, along with every important concept being communicated, actual practice and action as an integral part of the teaching.

Three years after its inception, the project can demonstrate visible progress in most of the immediate tasks it has set itself. Some 24 schools have started functioning as resource centres serving the surrounding village schools; training of teachers in supervision, teaching methods, and development skills is in full swing; around 70 new schools have been built, and many have been equipped with compound walls (which allow fruit trees and vegetables to be grown); piped water and latrines have been provided; medicines have been distributed, together with leaflets explaining the origin and cure of the most common diseases; a quarterly journal for teachers in the area has been published, and supplementary reading materials for students and adults have been produced. With all these activities, the project has rigorously adhered to the principle of releasing project funds in cash and kind only after results have been shown. This may not have been popular with everybody. Teachers, in particular, have been slow to change their old habits. The project realizes that whatever teachers' skills, knowledge and above all, their formal qualifications, the real obstacle to development lies in the attitudinal domain. In a remote and economically stagnating corner of the country, struck by recurring natural disasters and a permanent food deficit, teachers' attitudes are probably but a reflex of general apathy and the belief that development will have to come from outside.

But it is development from within that the project is trying to bring about. This, rather than the changes occurring in or around the schools, is the yardstick by which it intends to measure its ultimate success or failure: 'We will not concern ourselves with what people have learnt, or what they have memorized, or even with what certificate they have gained. What we will be concerned with in this final evaluation is the extent to which our project has affected the rural environment, and the extent to which this can be done at a cost that can be borne by the Government in the longer run. If trees are planted, vegetables grown, toilets built, villages cleaned, health improved, new income sources developed, etc., and all these are achieved at a relatively low unit cost, then our project can be considered a success. If, however, we just make large numbers of people literate (without them using their literacy skills), increase enrolments in schools, reduce drop-outs, without having any impact on the rural environment, or on rural development, our project can be considered a failure' (N. Bennett, op. cit.).

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Dialogue: an international seminar

The pilot project on education for rural development in the mountains of western Nepal thus played host to some thirty Seminar participants from different parts of the world.[1] To set in motion a dialogue between researchers specializing in problems of development education, government officials with key responsibilities in the area of rural development, field personnel involved in specific educational reform projects, and representatives of bilateral and multilateral development agencies, was not at all times an easy undertaking. To connect the practical problems faced on the ground with the issues raised by the three case studies, and by the various technical papers contributed to the Seminar,[2] was more than an ordinary challenge.

How well or poorly the Seminar accomplished these tasks may be seen from the following sections, which reflect the Seminar proceedings in substance and sequence.

An extensive discussion of alternative views of rural development provided the starting-point. For there is little point in trying to determine the rôle of education unless one is explicit about the question: what kind of rural development? The three case studies, focused as they are on the limited context of a district or group of villages, are less likely to venture into questions of alternative development strategies at the national level. It is rather in some of the technical papers that these questions were raised. Paper [*8*] by S.P. Vishnoi, for instance, describes the Indian experience in integrated rural development along with the increasing importance given to poverty-focused programmes in the current Five-Year Plan. Nepal's experience, as characterized in paper [*9*] by the Ministry of Education and Culture, seems based more on a variety of rural development projects operating in different parts of the country. In a more theoretical vein, papers [*10*] and [*4*], by Adolfo Figueroa and Joseph Müller respectively, advocate rural development policies geared to productive requirements and to the basic needs of small farmers. What emerged from the Seminar discussions on this point was a distinction between four approaches to rural development: a production-oriented approach; an approach that equates rural development with the alleviation of poverty; an approach where rural development is the sum total of different projects which form veritable islands of integration; and finally, an approach that argues for long-term rural transformation based on the mobilization of the peasantry. The elaboration of these ideas makes up Chapter I.

Problems of integration in rural development were the second main agenda item for the Seminar. The strongly contrasting views on what constitutes integration underscore the need to demystify this term. In the universe of

1. The participants are listed in Appendix I (page 231).
2. The Technical Papers presented to the Seminar are listed in Appendix II (page 233). They are referred to in the text by numbers within square brackets (e.g., *[1]*).
   It has not been possible to include these papers in the present volume, but copies may be obtained from IIEP on request.

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educators and curriculum specialists, it has taken on a very specific meaning, as illustrated in paper [*5*] by Pierre Rakotomalala. Others stress popular participation as the main vehicle of integration and argue that '... much of the stuff of integration is the process of agreeing on what is the common objective' (Carr-Hill, 1981). Paper [*7*] by Pierre Spitz considers integration more as an ideological construct, meant to deny the existence of power and conflict in the rural environment. At the same time, it is clear that integration has important organizational implications. Müller's paper [*4*] tries to capture just these by means of systems analysis, taking as an example the integration of literacy campaigns into rural development programmes. Another essential point raised has to do with the static *vs.* dynamic nature of integration: can the integration of rural development be designed, or can it only be discovered in a process of trial and error? The discussion of these different dimensions of the term refused to yield a simple picture. Its main traits are shown in Chapter II.

Chapter III reviews the Seminar discussions on the rôle of education in rural development. These revolved around three types of problems. First, does education not play a whole variety of rôles in rural development, given the fact that it is itself subject to a process of increasing diversification [*11*]? Second, assuming that education is capable of influencing the attitudes, knowledge, and skills of rural dwellers, what are the additional conditions that have to be met so that behavioural change translates into tangible development? Third, what is the relevance of that large and growing body of research which has established direct statistical correlations between education and a host of variables representing different aspects of rural development? Several of the technical papers deal with this set of questions. Figueroa, for instance, highlights the rôle of education as one amongst several factors which motivate the actual adoption of technical innovations on the part of Latin-American peasants [*10*]. Bude's paper [*3*] argues that education is more an accelerator of other influences than an independent causal factor in rural development. The three case studies, too, furnish detailed evidence on the rôle of education in changing attitudes and practices relating to economic issues, community interaction, family life, schooling of children, etc. They also establish certain striking correlations between years of schooling, literacy levels and various socio-economic indicators of rural development. However, the question as to just how much causality one should read into these quantitative associations is still very much alive.

The Seminar continued its discussions in working groups which considered the developmental rôle of rural primary schools, literacy campaigns, and nonformal skill-training programmes geared to the needs of the rural environment. Inasmuch as it is plausible to view these as joint components of basic education, what are the particular strengths and weaknesses of each? What positive and negative lessons can one derive from the many innovations and experimental projects which were brought to the Seminar's notice? Particularly with respect to the 'ruralization' of primary schools, the evidence assembled in papers [*5*] and [*6*] by Rakotomalala and Bude was very rich. The

problems of nonformal skill-training have, by contrast, been relatively little explored. The discussions suggested that much more attention needs to be paid to their relationship with the traditional modes of skill acquisition in rural areas. On the whole, Chapter IV leaves little doubt that the main task ahead is to find an optimum mix between the different components of diversified basic education. Their overall impact on rural development seems to depend on the degree of articulation and mutual reinforcement that can be achieved within the educational universe itself.

Chapter V, finally, reviews the main conclusions of the Seminar regarding firstly, the needs and directions of future research on education and rural development, and secondly, the lessons for improved educational planning and management which our imperfect state of knowledge allows us to draw today.

PART ONE

The Nepal Seminar

Dieter Berstecher and Fassil G. Kiros

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CHAPTER I

Rural development: the spectrum of views and experiences

The key concepts discussed at the Nepal Seminar, and underlying the different case studies, are those of rural development, education, and integration. Each of these concepts is, however, understood differently by different people.

Rural development, in particular, has given rise to various schools of thought and of development practice over the past two decades. There are good reasons for these differences: for any definition or conceptualization of rural development reflects not only specific national contexts, but also an often subjective view of what should be the priorities and strategies of development in general.

There is, thus, no commonly accepted view of what constitutes rural development, nor how it is best promoted. Thinking on the subject has, nevertheless, continued to evolve—although not in a unilinear fashion nor at the same pace everywhere. Indeed, rural-development efforts in different countries today comprise a large spectrum of macro- and micro-level approaches that are guided by a variety of objectives and strategies.

The Seminar highlighted four of these approaches, though it stressed, at the same time, the fact that they were by no means mutually exclusive in practice.

The production-oriented approach to rural development

The development of agriculture must be allotted a high priority in rural development, for no real progress is possible in the rural areas of developing countries without a major breakthrough in this field. The principal goal of rural development in many countries has, accordingly, been the promotion of agricultural production.

The centre-piece of this approach is the delivery of modern and more effective packages of inputs and services related to agriculture. These are primarily based on the discovery, mainly during the 1960s, of high-yield varieties of food grains. Other components of the package typically include labour-saving agricultural equipment, use of chemical fertilizers and pesticides, the expansion of irrigation systems, and provision of agricultural credit along with storage and marketing facilities. The setting-up of agricultural extension

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and training services provides a necessary complement to this strategy of delivering know-how in agriculture from above.

Based on the accumulated experience of failures and sucesses, the Seminar pointed out a number of serious flaws in this production-oriented approach to rural development.

First of all, it appears that much too little attention has been paid to the 'political economy' of rural and agricultural development. As the Indian case study observes, the slow pace of rural development has been due not only to the inadequacy of production inputs, but also to the pattern of land distribution, the failure to mobilize the people across the dividing lines of communal conflict and power structures, and the ineffectiveness of an administrative machinery whose tradition it is to rule, not to deliver development. In the case of Ethiopia, the main obstacle to rural development in the pre-revolutionary period was the extremely uneven land-holding system. The experience of Bangladesh where about half of all rural households are landless has not been any different. The production-oriented approach to rural development, epitomized by the 'Green Revolution', has been oblivious to such political and social realities. This has entailed the serious charge that its underlying design is that of an anti-reform strategy altogether: 'Green Revolution did not mean anything except that 'green' was implicitly opposed to 'red', signalling, like a flag, that social reforms were not necessary since technical means in agriculture (evoked by 'green') were alone supposed to solve the problem of hunger' (see Paper [7], p. 1).

Related to this critique is the observation, by now well established, that the production-oriented approach to rural development has further exacerbated the problems of inequality in an already iniquitous structure of rural society. Landlords and better-off farmers have, for the most part, successfully appropriated the benefits of the Green Revolution. Better capital endowment, large landholdings, easier access to rural credit, and collusion with government field functionaries have in many cases allowed them to monopolize rural development schemes designed for the poor. While it is true that overall agricultural output and productivity have greatly increased in many developing countries, landlessness, unemployment and poverty have grown in absolute and, more significantly, in relative terms. Despite assurances to the contrary, growth and equity are yet to be reconciled.

Furthermore, most production-oriented rural development programmes are based on the supply and diffusion of 'innovative' factor inputs and technologies. Often devised in an entirely different ecological, economic, and social context, their transfer and adoption by the rural producer has proved to be a much less straightforward process than was originally expected. Both the medium and the message in this process entail problems. Typically, it is the complicated machinery of agricultural extension which represents the medium through which innovative agricultural technologies or inputs are to be transferred. As the Indian case study demonstrates, this medium can, however, be ineffective and biased: the wrong type of contact farmers can be selected as

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recipients, simply by administrative fiat; the co-ordination between advice provided and inputs actually procured can be neglected; and the frequency and intensity of the messages can be manipulated. But it is equally possible that the content of the message itself is distorted or irrelevant. The Ethiopian case study, for example, shows how the agricultural extension messages typically differ from the kinds of problems which the farmers themselves consider most urgent.

These weaknesses of the technology-transfer model are today widely recognized. The conclusion drawn at the Nepal Seminar is that the starting-point of any agricultural development intervention should be a deeper understanding of the traditional production system—the cycle of crop rotation, the agricultural calendar, the traditional technology, agro-ecological conditions, and the kinds of criteria on which traditional subsistence farmers base the adoption or rejection of change. The development strategy that should be pursued then becomes one of attempting to make adjustments in the traditional system, with due regard to its fragility and resilience.[1]

This latter perspective is important because a development approach which disregards the prevailing system of agricultural production and the stock of empirical knowledge in rural areas, stands only a limited chance of success. However, the Seminar participants also cautioned against a romanticized notion of traditional modes of agriculture, since sooner or later they must give way to more efficient systems of production, whether externally induced or developed from within. But the necessary process of learning from traditional agriculture may imply a relatively slow rate of change in the face of the real urgency which impoverishment and hunger lend to the issue of rural development.

Rural development as a strategy for the alleviation of poverty

The glaring deficiencies of the production-oriented approach to rural development may explain why programmes to alleviate poverty by meeting the basic needs of the rural population have come to be increasingly emphasized in the theory and practice of rural development.

The proponents of this approach to rural development argue that it is perfectly possible to boost the growth of agricultural production along the lines of the Green Revolution, provided one mitigates the negative effects on the most vulnerable sections of the rural society and pays more attention to non-economic welfare aspects. Distributive measures are, in other words, to substitute for the 'trickling down' that has occurred not at all, or not fast enough. These measures tend to cover a fairly wide range of inputs. For example, India's 'Massive Minimum Needs Programme' includes provision of element-

1. For a detailed discussion of these terms, in relation to food and agricultural systems, see Garcia (1981).

21 BEST COPY AVAILABLE

ary education, health services, safe drinking water, access to roads, and rural electrification [9]. The ILO's definition is even broader (ILO, 1976). Meeting the basic needs is seen to cover a family's minimum requirements in terms of nutrition, housing, and clothing; also included is access to vital services such as provision of water, sanitary installations, transport, health, and educational facilities, and an adequately remunerated job for every person capable and willing to work; and finally, satisfaction of basic needs is to include people's participation in decision-making processes concerning their lives, means of subsistence, and personal liberty.

The emphasis on meeting basic needs is, in many cases, combined with a clearer recognition of the problems of poverty, and of the grave disparities between different segments of the rural population. For example, on the part of certain external donors, 'new style' rural development projects specifically targeted on the rural poor exemplify a change in strategy. At the same time, the rural development programmes in some of the largest Third-World countries aim today quite selectively at the population below a—variously defined—poverty line. In India, for instance, the strategy for accelerated rural development under the 6th Five-Year Plan not only includes continued efforts to increase production and productivity in agriculture, but spells out a wide range of measures which promise specific support for the rural poor [9]:

—skill-formation and skill up-grading programmes to promote self- and wage employment amongst the rural poor;
—resource and income development of vulnerable sections of the rural population through development of the primary, secondary and tertiary sectors;
—facilitating adequate availability of credit to support the programmes taken up for the rural poor;
—promoting marketing support in order to ensure the viability of production programmes and to insulate the rural poor from exploitation in the marketing of their products;
—provision of additional employment opportunities to the rural poor for gainful employment during the lean agricultural season through a National Rural Employment Programme (NREP);
—provision of essential minimum needs; and
—involvement of universities, research and technical institutions in preparing a shelf of projects both for self-employment and NREP, and in preparing strategies for the scientific utilization of local resources.

The link between such measures to alleviate poverty and meet basic needs, and the goal of raising agricultural production, is not always easy to establish. Typically, however, a great deal of intellectual effort has been invested in the attempt to show that poverty interventions could indeed contribute to the growth of output—and in the refinement of evaluation techniques that might capture their contribution (Tendler, 1982).

Are poverty-alleviation strategies thus merely a more enlightened variant of rural development policies aimed at raising agricultural production—less technocratic in their approach but more lasting in their impact? Or should they be

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assessed on the strength of their welfare and equity effects only? This debate, as the Nepal Seminar noted, is probably somewhat beside the point. For the experience to date is that poverty-focused rural development programmes, too, have actually reached the rural poor much less than expected. They turn out to be frequently biased in favour of the less needy, and more influential, sections of the peasantry. The Indian case study, in this respect, did no more than confirm earlier evaluations of poverty-focused rural development policies in Asia, sub-Saharan Africa, or Latin America: it found, for example, that the contact farmers who participate actively in the agricultural 'Training and Visit System' are people with distinctly bigger land holdings and higher levels of school education than the largely illiterate group of marginal farmers below the poverty line.

The radical critique argues that this failure of actually reaching the rural poor is in-built and pre-ordained. The objective function of rural poverty alleviation is, in their view, the creation of a political buffer of better-off farmers and money-lenders to ward off the eventual mobilization of the more numerous rural poor (Janvry, 1982). That this mobilization, or at least active participation on the part of the rural poor has indeed not really happened, is indeed a telling vindication of their claim. The case studies reviewed at the Nepal Seminar are unequivocal on this point. Without the counterweight provided by effective grass-roots organization and participation, the singling-out of the poor instead of the rich for benefit remains a mere terminological device, unable to safeguard the interests of the former against the influence and manipulations of the latter.

The equity effects of poverty-focused rural development schemes thus appear doubtful, mainly because the rural poor have been cast in the rôle of recipients rather than active participants. Yet, there is a larger, more fundamental problem: can alleviation of rural poverty and meeting of basic needs be considered a viable, dynamic, and long-term development strategy in the first place? Is the attempt to lift the rural poor above the poverty line seen as the starting-point of a longer-term strategy which aims at enabling them to help themselves and each other? Or is it an end in itself, limited to the most basic needs of survival, and excluding the needs for growth, social recognition, and mobility which are hardly less vital? In that case, the underlying strategy would be one not of development, but of keeping the rural poor in their place.

What seems needed, in other words, is convincing evidence that the meeting of certain basic needs can actually lead to long-term development. The situation in Doti, Bhajang, and Bajura of Seti Zone in western Nepal which the Seminar participants could observe at first hand was seen as a case in point. As explained in the Introduction, a development project centred on 'Education for Rural Development' is under way there, using a judicious blend of instruction, demonstration and concrete action to put across certain key development themes. Whilst none of these implies any spectacular rise in income or agricultural productivity, there is little doubt that they correspond to real problems and needs in the villagers' lives. Visible change in the school and

23 BEST COPY AVAILABLE

community environment has been achieved in the space of only a few years. Moreover, the project staff argues convincingly [2] that few other agencies in the area have a development leverage that comes close to that of the school: 'The educational system has a great potential for promoting rural development because it is the only network of His Majesty's government that stretches from one corner of the kingdom to another, it is the only network which has institutions (schools) and personnel within easy reach of 99 per cent of the population, and it is the only network whose personnel actually live in the villages they are supposed to serve'.

Thus, in this remote rural area penetrated by only few of the Government's official development agencies, the school network may be surprisingly effective in meeting certain basic needs and improving the quality of village life. Within the limits of its resources, expertise, and powers, it can accomplish much more than traditional pedagogues and other sceptics would allow.

But does all this amount to rural development? Does it help to set in motion a process in which the root causes of economic and social stagnation can, if only gradually, be eliminated? Or can projects such as this only hope to make village life more bearable in the absence of any real development? In Seti Zone of western Nepal, which has been described as a more or less permanent food-deficit area, the real obstacle to development seems to be insufficient agricultural production, coupled with the near absence of transport and communication facilities. It is to this key problem that rural development efforts worth the name must sooner or later address themselves.

Many participants in the Nepal Seminar saw this frequently missing link between alleviation of poverty and meeting of basic needs, on the one hand, and sustained development on the other, as critical. Quite a few felt that concentrating on basic needs provides an excuse for the failure to mobilize the rural population and transform ingrained rural power structures and land tenure systems, and smacks of dole.

Project-based rural development

It is common to find in a rural development area a great many projects being implemented in an isolated fashion.

These specific projects are, as a rule, linked to a particular national ministry or non-governmental organization, and are often supported by an external funding agency. As such, they tend to reflect the convictions, interests, and constraints of their spiritual and financial sponsors. That so many of them sometimes may exist in one and the same rural area, quite different in scope and without any visible linkages, reflects the fact that most project sponsors have gone through a lengthy and often painful learning process. Projects launched several years ago, and based on the development wisdom of that time, are found alongside more recent 'new-style' projects. While all of them aspire to promote rural development, the approaches behind them may be vastly different. There are rural infrastructure projects, concerned with the

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construction of dams and irrigation channels, feeder roads, electrification schemes, and so on; in many countries, they exemplify the first attempts to intervene in the rural landscape—conspicuous more by their physical proportions and sheer cost than by their catalytic effects on development. There are, at the same time, many projects which are clearly focused on the problems of agricultural productivity; they are concerned with applied agricultural research, production and distribution of improved seeds and chemical fertilizers, agricultural extension and training services, and so on. Other projects, more specifically designed to meet problems of rural poverty, seek to create additional or alternative income sources through, for example, crop substitution programmes, food for work schemes, propagation of cottage industries, and other forms of self-employment for marginal or landless farmes unable to extract a living from agriculture alone. Still other projects deliberately bypass the economic and productive aspects of development, emphasizing instead the improvement of basic health and education services: provision of safe drinking-water, vaccination campaigns, family planning, basic health care, nutrition education, functional literacy programmes, and rural primary schools. Since the educational component in these projects is usually very prominent, they are often coupled with attempts to introduce improved forms of social organization amongst the peasantry, such as rural co-operatives, women's and youth associations, or various forms of self-help groups.

To an interested observer, these various types of projects represent a sort of cross-section through the recent history of rural development practice. What he would notice, in particular, is that the latest generation of such projects are, for the most part, committed to an 'integrated' approach of tackling problems of rural development. The Nepal Seminar discussed this approach at great length. As Section II of this report suggests, a great deal of effort is required just to explore the practical and political connotations of the term 'integration' itself.

It is probably true that, as Seminar paper [7] points out, to believe in integration of rural development efforts may at times betray a rather naive view of project logistics: to keep on enriching a rural development project with additional activities and elements usually ends up in indigestible organizational complexity rather than integration; the synergistic effects hoped for are not the automatic outcome of an ever-lengthening list of project elements. It is also true that integrated rural development projects have a tendency of denying too easily the existence of conflicts and divergent group interests in rural society. They negate conflict rather than trying to resolve it.

These arguments notwithstanding, the attempt to achieve a measure of integration within rural development projects can add a clearer recognition that development requires the interaction and mutual reinforcement of many component factors; it underscores the importance of planned and co-ordinated action in the different sectors of rural life. It is by no means impossible to find rural development projects which have successfully avoided the pitfalls evoked above: they can point to an appropriate measure of interest and even involve-

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ment of the local people. Manned by a capable and well-trained project administration, they may have steered clear of organizational problems and conflicts with the bureaucracy. Measurable if modest progress is being achieved on most fronts. The desired synergistic effects of integration seem to be confirmed.

But, as in the case of poverty alleviation and basic needs, the Nepal Seminar expressed its doubts concerning the viability of this kind of project-based development. Do all these rural development projects, however well each one of them may function, add up to a coherent and generalizable strategy of rural development? Is it enough to let a thousand flowers bloom, especially if most of them depend for their survival on active grooming and watering on the part of foreign donors?

In the Seminar's view, there is very little theoretical justification for such an *ad hoc* approach. Yet, in many countries, a proliferation of projects reflects to a large extent the reality of what goes on in the name of rural development. The Bangladesh case study, for example, discovers a large number of Government projects with very diverse objectives, as well as volunteer projects of various sorts, behind the overall philosophy of integrated rural development adopted by that country. Similarly, seminar paper [*8*] submitted by Nepal's Ministry of Education and Culture enumerates some seven integrated rural development projects supported by as many external donors, currently operating in various parts of the country.

Projects become, in these conditions, veritable islands of development. Within their own micro-cosmos, they demonstrate convincingly the virtues of an integrated approach to development. Sometimes, they manage to induce a measure of development that goes beyond the immediate project boundaries, as in the case of the Bunumbu project of 'Primary Schools for Rural Areas' in Sierra Leone: 'In terms of local development... and as a result of project-induced change, the most spectacular progress was to be seen in Bunumbu itself and in the pilot school communities; it was progress precisely as desired, towards community development and educational improvement. Bunumbu township was clearly undergoing transformation. More people had come to live in the town and houses of higher quality and larger size had appeared. The Friday market had become a daily one. A bank had established a small branch office in the town, and there have been two other commercial ventures in which the college has played a prominent part. An agreement has been reached with a petrol company to locate two pumps in the town, provided the community houses them. The most spectacular development, however, is the cooperative general store that has been built by the college and community together. Financed initially by a shareholding system, the cooperative store is now self-sufficient, and its pricing policy has led to a corresponding drop in the prices charged in the two other shops' (Seminar paper [*5*], p. 19).

Such multiplier effects, however, remain the exception. Most projects insulate themselves from the adversities of an often hostile environment by setting targets that are as neatly conceived as they are limited; project staff whose

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selection, training and pay make them efficient and atypical at the same time; and a special administrative status which provides shelter from the intrigues of unco-ordinated sectoral government bureaucracies (Lele, 1975; especially Chap. VIII).

In sum, the price which these projects pay for their survival and even success, is that they cannot be replicated on a wider scale. As a pervasive, generalizable, and sustainable strategy of rural development, the proliferation of specially designed integrated rural development projects is hardly sufficient.

The case for long-term rural transformation

The contrasting views and experiences of rural development discussed above led quite a few Seminar participants to call for a radically different approach: one in which rural development would provide the centre-piece rather than the periphery of a nation's development strategy, and long-term rural transformation, not piecemeal improvements, would be the principal objective.

There is no lack of arguments to support this case. First, the vast majority of the population of nearly all developing countries live in rural areas, and hence rural development to be really effective must aim at altering the conditions of life of often scores of millions of people. Secondly, because poverty weighs so heavily on the rural masses, it can only be overcome by an approach deploying large amounts of resources and by sustained national effort. Thirdly, for most developing countries, agriculture is the dominant economic activity, which no strategy of national development can afford to ignore.

All this is to say that rural development is much more than a purely sectoral issue. De-linking the rural areas from the exploitative chain that ties them to the modern urban sector, is seen as the very key to overall development.

The number of developing countries in which a revolutionary process has radically transformed the economic and social structures of society at large, and of the rural areas in particular, is today far from being negligible. To varying degrees, these countries present evidence that rural production has increased substantially; that new forms of collective management function more efficiently and equitably than the former feudal property relations; that extreme poverty is being eradicated, and education along with basic health services spread throughout the countryside. Yet, at the same time, there seem to be indications of bureaucratization, of unwieldy and top-heavy planning methods, of coercion that stifles rather than motivates participatory involvement of the rural masses.

The Nepal Seminar lacked the kind of detailed evidence that would trace the post-revolutionary development experience of specific countries over a sufficient period of time. Without it, it seemed difficult to discuss this model of rural development in greater depth. The Ethiopian case study, for all its value, could only consider the vision of future development in a transitional society, not the actual realization of the proposed comprehensive approach to rural and national development.

27

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There was agreement, however, that even where the way for a radically new rural development strategy has been paved, success is likely to depend on the capacity of planning and management which is generally wanting in developing countries.

Top-down methods of planning from the centre are the ones most frequently practised, often as an unfortunate legacy from the colonial past. In many developing countries, including some which had undergone the trauma of revolutionary transformation, the most notable achievement of these methods has been to alienate the rural people, in the vain attempt to set up an administrative machinery capable of 'delivering' development from above. Even the moderate challenge of decentralization and integrated rural development services tends to throw the ranks of government planners and administrators into hopeless disarray.

Only a few countries have experimented with non-coercive and unbureaucratic forms of planning from below, based on a voluntary mobilization of the rural population. It is perhaps this approach, with its heavy reliance on participation and education, which will be most appropriate to the prospect of long-term rural transformation (Society for International Development, 1984).

Concluding remarks

Not all shades of opinions expressed or implied at the Nepal Seminar regarding rural development have been captured within the various conceptions discussed above. As indicated at the outset, these concepts do not constitute watertight compartments, but rather dominant themes and experiences within a wider spectrum.

Indeed, a criticism levelled at the Nepal Seminar was that such concepts represent idealized and normative notions of rural development. Rural development policies, it was argued, cannot be adopted as a matter of free choice. As a result, the practice of rural development in the real world is not adequately reflected in simplified development paradigms. This criticism implies that further research is required to be able to explain in full how, and in what larger socio-economic contexts, rural development is actually designed and implemented.

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CHAPTER II

Problems of integration in rural development

A concept of many dimensions

Integration was probably most critical amongst the issues discussed at the Nepal Seminar. It proved to be a concept of many dimensions.

For quite a long time, integration has figured in educational reform schemes as an issue limited exclusively to curriculum design and teaching methods. Educators used to speak of 'integrated' social sciences or natural sciences in the sense that hitherto separate disciplines such as geography, history, civics and economics, or biology, chemistry and mathematics should be closely interlinked. Certain practical themes such as productive work, community relationships, or the quality of the natural environment, frequently provide the focal points for such integration. Another important aspect of integration concerns new teaching methods which de-emphasize knowledge-acquisition through rote learning and move towards a better balance between the affective, cognitive and psychomotor domains.

Unesco's 'Experimental Integrated Project on Education for Rural Development' in Namutamba, Uganda, exemplifies these principles very well. Seminar paper [5] by Pierre Rakotomalala describes how this project managed to design an environment-oriented curriculum which integrates both natural and social science subjects, and reinforced it with teaching methods in which indoor teaching, outdoor demonstration, and field practice had equal weight.

Namutamba is, in a way, an example of how far educators, on their own terms, have been prepared to go in 'integrating' education with rural development. Essentially, their perspective has been one of reflecting the rural environment in the contents and methods of teaching. This in itself has quickly been contested on the grounds of academic quality and the need to safeguard examination standards. More often than not, educational innovations of the Namutamba type have remained unfinished.

What is more, from the point of view of rural development planners and economists all this has hardly been enough. For them, 'integration' of education means recognition of the fact that education, along with other factors, is an essential ingredient of the rural production function. As such it needs to be

linked with these other factors not only in its content, but in quantity, time and space. If these linkages are planned incorrectly or only in part, negative 'diseconomies' will result; the net development impact of action in different sectors will in that case be inferior to the sum total of the separate sectoral effects. In this economic sense of the term, therefore, successful integration of education with other factors or sectors of rural development will be achieved when such negative diseconomies have been eradicated while there is the greatest possible number of positive reinforcements between them.

Another interpretation of the elusive concept of integration is to be found in systems analysis. The study of rural eco-systems, for instance, views integration as the necessary corollary to the differentiation which occurs in response to increasingly complex and less stable environmental conditions, and to outside disturbances. Traditional integrative mechanisms, such as the solidarity within tribal clans or extended families at times of drought, are no longer sufficient to safeguard the system's stability or, indeed, survival. In the same way, traditional learning and skill-acquisition can be interpreted as integrative mechanisms increasingly unable to cope with the complexity of new agricultural methods or with changing forms of social organization in rural areas.

These interpretations, interesting though each of them may be, do not really add up to a conceptually coherent view of what constitues integration in rural development. Nor are they sufficiently operational to provide answers to the many practical questions posed at the Nepal Seminar. Is the integration of rural development efforts an administrative task that requires structural changes 'from above', or should it be seen as a collective responsibility based on initiatives 'from below'? At what point in the process of designing, implementing and evaluating rural development projects should integration enter the picture? Is integration possible when the objectives of different agencies and of their projects are *prima facie* not consistent? How to pursue integration in the face of divergent group interests, communal power structures, and frequent unwillingness to share information?

What these questions suggest is that problems of integration need to be examined at different levels, none of which is independent of the others.

At the most global level of national development strategies, it can be very revealing to question the relationship between the major orientations of national policy and the place assigned to rural development. Many developing countries are characterized by a pronounced dualism of their social and economic structures which puts the rural areas in a marginal position of dependence *vis-à-vis* the urban, industrialized sector. Are rural needs and concerns in such countries truly an integral part of overall development strategies, or is rural development conceived rather as a remedy meant to counteract and mitigate the effects of a basically anti-rural approach to development?

At the level of rural development objectives themselves, inconsistencies are often obscured by vague declarations which are all-embracing and anodyne. Problems only emerge when more specific objectives of an intermediate nature have been defined, or when operational targets have been set. At that point,

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rural development objectives may be seen to lack integration for two reasons: they may either be in factual contradiction with each other, or entail conflict between different segments of the rural populace.

It is somewhat naive to expect that such problems of integration which, in reality, reflect conflicting objectives, can be effectively tackled through organizational measures. And yet it is at the organizational or structural level that problems of integration in rural development are most frequently dealt with. The case studies discussed at the Nepal Seminar were no exceptions. If some seminar participants, in consequence, criticized their findings as presenting an over-simplified conflict-free view of rural development, it was, on the other hand, realized that there remain considerable problems to be solved even at this technical, organizational level of integration.

The possibility that group interests and objectives may diverge is much more readily admitted when integration is sought by means of community participation. The active participation of rural people can be crucial in identifying needs and objectives, mobilizing resources for development projects, and working out solutions which correspond best to the local environment. But more important, it can be a mechanism for conflict resolution which has considerable integrative power. That community participation does not always live up to this rôle, even where it is officially encouraged and institutionalized, should be no secret. Its effectiveness in the practice of rural development seems to depend on many factors, including the global political system of a given country, the somewhat ambivalent rôle of community leadership, the cohesiveness of social and economic structures at the community level, and the educational and other communication facilities available.[1]

The case studies discussed at the Nepal Seminar examined integration mainly as an organizational issue, but also in terms of community participation. Their findings, not very encouraging in either respect, will be reviewed in the following two sections.

Integration as an organizational issue

The organizational delivery system for rural development differs, as one would expect, significantly among the three national cases studied. In the post-revolutionary situation of Ethiopia, sectoral government agencies such as the Ministries of Education and of Agriculture continue to function, each of them vertically structured in what amounts to parallel systems of bureaucratic hierarchies. However, with the setting-up of a campaign-oriented national planning system, a far-reaching attempt at organizational integration is under way. To date the attempt has met with considerable difficulties: not all relevant development agencies tend to be represented in the Revolutionary Development Campaign and Central Planning Supreme Council, which are supposed to provide the necessary integrative mechanism at the district, regional and national levels.

1. For an analysis of these factors in the Indian situation, see Nicholson, 1973.

31

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Perhaps more critical, those agencies which are in fact represented continue to set their priorities and to implement their sectoral activities more or less independently of each other. At the field level, they perform their specialized functions according to the specific plans and requirements of their respective headquarters, rather than as the result of horizontal co-ordination.

The absence of organizational integration is equally visible in the fact that there are no formal linkages between units which have similar responsibilities. Thus, in the district studied, it was found that the Ministry of Agriculture, the Farm Training Centre, the Bee-Breeding Centre, and the Institute of Agricultural Research do not maintain any organizational relationships.

The three types of mass organizations, namely the Peasant, Women's and Youth Associations, are also organized hierarchically up to the national level. Even though Women's and Youth Associations cover the same area as the Peasant Associations, there are no effective organizational linkages between them.

In the educational sector proper, including both the school system and the National Literacy Campaign, the situation does not seem any brighter. Indeed, the local schools do not have any relationships with one another, owing mainly to the fact that there is no district office to co-ordinate educational plans and activities at that level; each school in the study area was found to report directly to the sub-regional office of the Ministry of Education in Addis Ababa. The absence of organizational integration is, moreover, compounded by the sheer physical distance between schools, which forms a serious impediment to any meaningful interaction among them.

As far as the National Literacy Campaign is concerned, its organization is parallel to the hierarchy of the formal school system. True, at the national and sub-regional level, organizational linkages do exist, since officials of the school system have been made leading members of the literacy committees and provide them with administrative support. Yet, at the lower level of peasant associations, these linkages tend to disintegrate: in the study area, only 11 of the 54 peasant associations had school principals on their literacy committees.

Both India and Bangladesh are among the countries known to have spearheaded the concept of integrated rural development. In Bangladesh, the well-known experience of the Comilla Academy for Rural Development made for a very promising start. Its approach to integration was to organize the rural people by means of four closely interacting institutions: firstly, the Training and Development Centres to be established in every *Thana*—an administrative unit in the hierarchy from nation to division (4), district (20), sub-division (60), *thana* (450), union (4,500), and, finally, village (some 68,000 in all). These were to provide a single supply-point for goods and services, as well as training to the rural population. Secondly, the Rural Works Programme which aimed to build up the rural infrastructure and, at the same time, provide an employment outlet during the slack season. Thirdly, the Irrigation Programme which sought to unite farmers in rudimentary co-operative groups making joint use of irrigation facilities. And fourthly, perhaps most important, a network of vil-

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lage-based farmers' co-operatives federated, in each *Thana*, into an association providing its members with credit, agricultural inputs, and overall co-ordination.

These four pillars of the integrated rural development framework were, during the late 1960s, replicated throughout the country in fairly rapid succession. According to some estimates, as many as two-thirds of Bangladesh's villages set up farmer's co-operatives. The *Thana* Training and Development Centres have been a regular meeting-ground for officials of the various governmental departments and village leaders, such as model farmers or the managers of village co-operatives.

To all intents and purposes, Bangladesh has thus had, for over a decade now, a nationally designed rural development programme, extending from the national down to the village level, and making 'integration' the keyword of the whole scheme. How viable and effective has this experience been? The case study discussed at the Nepal Seminar presents only circumstantial evidence. In the few villages surveyed, farmer's co-operatives have never existed or are now defunct; only 8 per cent of all households are members of any kind of village organization. This condition prevails today, at least at the village level, although the study area includes one of the three *thana*s where the framework of integrated rural development was initiated back in 1963 by the Comilla Academy. At the same time, however, a host of other programmes and projects focused on rural development have sprung up all over Bangladesh. Many of them seem to owe their existence to the initiative of foreign donor agencies, or of voluntary organizations such as the Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee. The impression all this conveys is one of great organizational dispersion. The Integrated Rural Development Programme, originally designed to be a single comprehensive delivery system for rural development, is in reality just one amongst a large number of public, private and foreign-assisted development schemes operating simultaneously, with little or no overall co-ordination.

India's experience in integrated rural development parallels that of Bangladesh in several interesting ways. In both cases, a highly successful pilot project marked the beginning. As early as 1948 the world's most populous, newly independent state launched in Etawah district of Uttar Pradesh a rural development scheme which bore most of the marks of an integrated approach: the linking of a multi-purpose extension agent in the village with sectoral specialists up the line in a co-ordinated team effort was one feature; community self-help to overcome commonly defined problems was another; the government's rôle was to be that of a catalyst providing limited resources to initiate the development process (Sussman, 1982). This early experience provided the basis of the Community Development movement, which, through the Block Development Office, sought to ensure organizational integration at a point in actual reach of the rural dwellers.

Today, the Block Development Office seems to fulfil this co-ordinating function only in part. The all-important Department of Agriculture no longer

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comes under its purview. The co-ordinating powers of the Block Development Officers are frequently too weak to tie together the different strands of an increasingly complex delivery system for rural development; their effectiveness tends to be eroded by reduced staffing. As the Indian case study points out, the poor and often illiterate farmers are confused by a host of institutions and field agents. They experience great difficulty in locating the necessary contact points, and securing their respective services in the order required.

These weaknesses notwithstanding, the Block Development Office still holds major responsibility for the implementation of the Integrated Rural Development Programme. Expected to reach at least 15 million rural families during 1980–85, this programme represents no doubt a very major government effort in rural development.[1] Contrary to what its name suggests, however, it does not stand for a single unified and comprehensive approach to rural development. In reality, the IRDP is a special programme aimed at income generation for rural families below the so-called poverty line. It is only by adding such other programmes as the Rural Landless Employment Guarantee Programme, the Training and Visit System of Agricultural Extension, or the Minimum Needs Programme that one obtains a relatively complete picture of the entire government effort towards rural development. Given this multiplicity of programmes, the problems of organizational integration are far from being resolved.

The three case studies discussed at the Nepal Seminar highlight the common search for appropriate forms of organizational integration in rural development. This search depends on historical and socio-cultural antecedents as well as current conditions which are specific to each of the countries studied. It includes setbacks and periods during which the *status quo* seems to solidify. Neither theoretically nor in practice can integration be expected to spring full-blown from the desk of some inspired central planning office. It makes much greater sense to consider integration as a learning process that may involve several iterative and possibly overlapping stages of development.[2] The Nepal Seminar, emphasizing this perspective, suggested that much greater attention should be given to institution-building and to the process of institutional change in the context of rural development. It should be possible, in this way, to analyse the merits of and transition between some of the following steps towards full organizational integration:

— Regular information-sharing between different rural development agencies probably constitutes the least problematic prerequisite for organizational integration; however, vertical information flows within sectoral bureaucracies often prevail.

— Co-ordination between different government departments and rural development agencies on an *ad hoc* and *ex post* basis, that is after the respective programmes and budgets have been separately determined,

1. See Seminar paper [9] for a more detailed description.
2. This view is put forward very forcefully by Crener *et al.*, 1984.

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amounts to a partial and often improvised form of organizational integration. This can, however, serve to avoid the most devious overlaps and duplication of resources. The joint use of certain facilities, personnel and resources between different departments and agencies through 'pooling' arrangements tends to have visible advantages, and can often be installed without having to consult all the higher echelons of each agency involved.

— Unified and polyvalent delivery services at the local level, integrating the functions of several separate sectors, are an important step towards full organizational integration; many developing countries have relevant experiences in this respect, experiences which, however, also demonstrate the limits of this form of 'integration at the point of delivery'.

— The establishment of national and/or sub-national bodies which practise more or less autonomous forms of designing, programming and budgeting intersectoral development plans, is one of the more commonly practised attempts to achieve integrated rural development. Two questions have, however, turned out to be critical: to what extent do such bodies depend on grass-roots personnel who continue to come under the purview of the traditional government departments? And, do such bodies have independent budgetary resources, or are they unable to call the tune because someone else pays the piper?

Administrative decentralization is often seen as conducive for any of the above-mentioned degrees of integration to function. Experience, however, suggests that what has happened under the label of decentralization is often limited to a delegation of administrative routines, to a mere 'de-concentration' which never transcends inter-departmental boundaries. This will not necessarily lead to organizational integration between different sectors and development agencies. On the other hand, certain impromptu forms of co-ordination at the district or community level are, at times, greatly facilitated by administrative decentralization and by a minimum of autonomy being available to local government officials.

The above discussion may dispel the kind of abstract or idealized notion of integration that seems to linger in the minds of many people. Even where a central blueprint promulgates integration at all levels, reality does hardly ever concur. According to the particular contexts, one is likely to find a degree of bureaucratic segmentation alongside a degree of partial integration.

Integration through community participation

The question of community participation in rural development has been the subject of much discussion, research, and experimentation in recent years.[1] The Nepal Seminar, however, considered it in a particular perspective, namely community participation as a dimension of the broader issue of integration.

1. See, for instance, the research programme in the area of participation which the United Nations Research Institute for Social Development, Geneva, has carried out over the last few years, mainly in Africa and Latin America.

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So far as the reality of community participation in rural areas is concerned, the case studies from Ethiopia, India, and Bangladesh present a fairly negative picture. While organizational mechanisms for participation of the rural people do, in fact, exist in each of the countries studied, they do not seem to be used effectively. Even where participatory elements have been built into specific rural development projects, they are not actually operative.

In Ethiopia, the newly created rural mass organizations are expected to be the main vehicles for enabling the people to participate in rural development. Have these organizations been able, better perhaps than the sectoral government agencies in fields such as health, agriculture, or education, to enlist popular participation? The Ethiopian case study examines these questions in detail, though of course for a geographically limited rural area.

Within the peasant associations and producer co-operatives in Welmera district, interactions between elected leaders and the grass-roots membership are poor. Whether it is a question of leaders consulting the peasantry, e.g. by asking them to participate in planning the activities of their association, or a question of members approaching their leaders for any kind of assistance, three out of four respondents have rarely or never had any kind of contact. On the other hand, government agencies related to the Ministry of Agriculture, or the local clinic, or indeed the rural schools are hardly more successful or active in winning the interest and participation of the rural people. As for the schools, 88 per cent of the respondents have rarely or never visited one. In part this is because about half of the children in the area were, in fact, never sent to school. But the relative isolation of the schools, the considerable distances which parents, for instance, would need to travel to get there, must be taken into account as well. In the study area, distance between home and school varied between 4 and 26 km. Community participation in these circumstances remains a somewhat abstract proposition.

Rural development institutions and programmes in general can elicit participation only if they respond to the felt needs of the community. These are best articulated by the people themselves. Yet, the peasantry are given little opportunity to participate even on the level of need-identification. Hence, there is often little correspondence between the advice provided and the needs expressed by the peasantry. In agricultural extension, for instance, while only a small proportion of the farmers interviewed consider soil fertility a problem, the use of fertilizers appears to be a key theme of the extension agents; conversely, the use of pesticides is not among the most frequent types of advice provided, although plant diseases seem to be a common and serious problem.

Popular participation in rural development has been shown to be less than satisfactory in the case of India as well. The *Panchayat* system of local self-government, designed as a counterpart of the block-level organization in development work, seems to have lost ground. According to the Indian case study, its powers have been reduced and, in part, transferred to the bureaucracy. Its rôle today is largely advisory. Membership in the village

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Panchayat, some 6 per cent among the respondents in the study area, seems to carry with it less social status than it used to.

Participatory mechanisms within particular rural development projects might, in part, make up for the declining effectiveness of local self-government. Thus, the Training and Visit System of agricultural extension provides for the election of so-called Contact Farmers by the local community. In reality, however, the government bureaucracy seems easily able to override this stipulation by nominating Contact Farmers from above rather than having them elected; as the study demonstrates, many of those so nominated are apparently not even aware that they are Contact Farmers. In yet another specific rural development project, which seeks to train younger members of poor rural families for self-employment, community participation is not even foreseen. In its place, project 'beneficiaries' are identified from above in a sophisticated procedure involving several government agencies; the community apparently has no say in identifying the types of training most appropriate to a particular location, and actually demanded by the villagers.

The Indian case study concludes that the complexity and lack of transparency of the bureaucratic apparatus which is to promote rural development forms a major obstacle to effective community participation. Quite predictably, those who do 'participate in rural development', by taking advantage of the opportunities offered, tend to be the better educated, better informed, and economically better-off.

The Bangladesh case study has little to say about community participation in rural development. In the survey areas, at least, the village co-operatives, which constitute the principal mechanism for the farmers to participate in development activities, are dormant. Only 8 per cent of the respondents still consider themselves as members of a co-operative. In general, judging by the low level of awareness and interest in development matters expressed by the sample of rural dwellers interviewed, their participation is likely to be insignificant.

What the three case studies have found out about the reality of community participation in rural development provokes three types of question. Firstly, are the classical participative mechanisms such as co-operatives or the chain of agricultural extension effective and appropriate? Secondly, is the call for more active community participation based on a sufficient understanding of socio-cultural patterns, attitudes and behaviour in particular rural milieus? And thirdly, can participation be limited to its instrumental value of ensuring a better implementation of development activities that were decided upon at higher levels?

These questions are obviously interrelated. If there is some doubt today about the capacity of co-operatives, extension services, or local forms of self-government conceived as part of the community development movement, to mobilize and organize community participation, this may well be due to the inappropriateness of these particular mechanisms in a rural milieu that was ill-

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prepared from the outset to accommodate them. In many cases, their dual function of extending the outreach of certain government services, on the one hand, and providing a forum for community participation, on the other, may have entailed conflicts. The evidence before the Nepal Seminar suggested that the former function has often, in the end, prevailed. The classical participative mechanisms which the government bureaucracy tends to sponsor are not effective in settling conflicts and differences of opinion—within the community, let alone between the community and the bureaucracy—because they were not conceived in this perspective. Moreover, they often contradict the traditional and socially accepted mechanisms for conflict settlement which exist in every rural community.[1]

It is, therefore, imperative to study the social and cultural features of the rural environment in much greater depth, and beyond the immediate, operational requirements of any specific development project. The way in which rural communities traditionally discuss problems of common concern, and reach decisions acceptable to a majority, should be an important aspect of such a study; moreover, it should not be conducted in isolation, but as part of a comprehensive analysis that considers the rural communities as unique social, cultural and economic systems. The Seminar concurred with the view expressed elsewhere (Cremer *et al.*, 1984) that this type of analysis must find a middle ground between the superficial project-feasibility study that takes just a few weeks, and anthropological research that may extend over many years.

Community participation should, lastly, be geared to the entire process of identifying, planning, implementing, and evaluating rural development activities, rather than serving as a handy device to mobilize additional resources and seeing projects through the difficulties of implementation. This point, whilst generally conceded in theory, is more often than not lost in practice. The reason is that need-identification and planning of particular projects involve a certain control over the allocation of public resources, and evaluation may raise questions of accountability. Where governments are explicitly or tacitly determined not to share power with the rural population, the broadening of community participation is bound to be a slow process. It is futile, on the other hand, to expect voluntary and committed participation in situations where the people do not identify themselves with rural development activities, or with the institutions set up to implement them.

1. The Bangladesh case study, in particular, offers some interesting insights on this point.

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CHAPTER III

The rôle of education in rural development

This chapter considers some of the general issues regarding the relationship between education and rural development, as they emerge from the case studies and seminar discussions. A subsequent chapter will concern itself with more specific questions pertaining to the rôle of basic education and of rural skill training.

The diversified educational field

It is important to recognize that rural people learn in a variety of situations—some more organized, some more useful and some more rewarding than others. In developing as in industrialized countries, the educational field has widened in recent years to include a variety of learning opportunities outside the school system. The best known attempt to structure this diversified field is that of Coombs and Ahmed (1973). The categories they propose include formal, nonformal and informal education.

Formal education refers, of course, to the highly institutionalized, chronologically graded and hierarchically structured system of education leading from the primary to the tertiary level. Nonformal education refers to any other organized, systematic educational activity which provides learning to particular sub-groups of the population. Examples include adult literacy programmes, occupational skill training, farmers' extension programmes, instruction in family-planning methods, and many others. Informal education refers to the life-long process by which every person acquires and accumulates knowledge, skills, attitudes and insights from daily living experiences at home, at the workplace or in social interaction.

While these categories have gained wide currency, the distinction between formal and nonformal education is frequently overdrawn. The world of learning outside the school is not necessarily less 'formal' in pedagogical form, in the definition of its contents, in selecting its clientèle, or in sponsorship and institutional arrangements. At the same time, informal education is by no means always as intangible and removed from the world of planning as is generally alleged; in the rural context, particularly, organizers of vocational-

training programmes could learn a great deal from the way in which traditional trades are acquired from peers and elders; the informal education accorded by contacts with seed and fertilizer markets, or with the markets and prices for agricultural products may well be one of the most important sources of learning for the peasant farmer. This seemingly elusive field of informal education cannot be ignored.

There are good reasons, therefore, not to draw a strict line that separates 'formal' education in schools from nonformal and informal education, as if these were innate structures of the educational field. A more appropriate research approach would be to consider the diversified educational field as a whole and without prejudice, so as to take stock of its component parts, of their specific features, and of the linkages between them. The Nepal Seminar, therefore, proposed that any attempt to enhance the integration of education with overall rural development should first address questions of integration, and of possible disarray, within the educational field itself.

This approach entails many questions of an immensely practical nature. What are, for instance, in a given rural area, the different institutions and programmes other than the school, which have education and training functions in a broad sense, and which have actual or potential effects on rural development processes? What is the measure of integration which has been achieved beween different modes of delivering educational services?

The Ethiopian case study poses exactly this latter question. It analyses the lack of co-ordination which exists between the various forms of education which come under the responsibility of the Ministry of Education, such as the schools, the community skill-training centres and the National Literacy Campaign, and calls for better co-ordination of these programmes with the educational services operated by the Ministry of Agriculture, e.g. the Farm Training Centres and the agricultural extension services. Such problems of institutional integration are equally common in many countries other than Ethiopia.

However, there are also problems of vertical integration. It is not uncommon to find little co-ordination between the education and training programmes directed at the target population of a certain rural development project, programmes for the operational field staff who have to deliver these projects, and finally, those which are directed at higher-level personnel in charge of planning, implementing and evaluating the whole venture.

Integration of educational programmes also means coherence in time and space. Individuals and groups should be able to claim recognition of what they have learnt and done, and on that basis, build up an education and training itinerary geared to their specific needs. Rules as to the equivalency and transferability of certain education and training experiences are a prerequisite for such mobility.

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Problems in assessing the effects of education

The effects of education on rural development are just as difficult to postulate in theory as to demonstrate in practice. Part of this difficulty is, of course, rooted in the continuing debate over how rural development itself should be defined and through what strategies it can be attained. The presentation of alternative approaches to rural development in Chapter I has amply demonstrated this point. It is not possible to debate the effects of education on rural development unless one is explicit about the question: what kind of rural development?

Much depends, at the same time, on what we understand by education. Many studies analysing the effects of education on rural development do no more than proxy both the form and content of education by a simple measure of 'years of schooling'. However, the structure and content of schooling along with the quality of teachers and material inputs can make a world of difference, as far as the effects on rural development are concerned. What is more, education is not tantamount to schooling. Certain modes of nonformal or even informal education may well have greater effects on rural development than the school itself. The point of the preceding section on the diversified educational field was exactly this.

There is, furthermore, a problem of research methodology. Among the many studies which have tried to capture and describe the effects of education on rural development, the seemingly simple notion of 'effects' itself is unclear.

For many participants at the Nepal Seminar, these effects are necessarily related to the educational process itself—to the knowledge gained, to the attitudes transformed and the skills acquired. They would thus argue that education renders a person capable of contributing to development in one or more of the following ways: the capacity to read and write enables and stimulates a person to receive and convey information relating to individual and communal development; the attitudes imparted may lead to greater motivation to participate in development processes and to motivate others to do the same; the communication skills and group discipline inherent in education (particularly, it was argued, in school education) may foster a spirit of co-operation. Finally, of course, education is expected to generate a variety of skills which are directly applicable in the rural environment.

From this point of view, the effects of education take the form of changes in individual and group behaviour. These may be more or less conducive to developmental change but will actually *lead* to change only if combined with relevant non-educational inputs. It is in this sense that the Ethiopian study takes as the ultimate evidence of the integration of education in rural development the degree to which education has been functional in bringing about change in the lives of the rural population. Such an outcome would imply that the educational effort has been reinforced by other development inputs and *vice versa*, that is to say, education has been integrated with other rural

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development activities. The study did not attempt, however, to measure the effects of education on rural change. It argues that measuring the outcomes of education is an extremely difficult task under any circumstances. Under the revolutionary conditions of Ethiopia, the many new influences on rural society can hardly be fully apprehended, much less measured.

Other researchers analyse the effects of education on rural development at a much more aggregate level. What interests them are not so much the behavioural or attitudinal outcomes of education as the statistical relationships between the variable 'education' and other economic, social and political variables representing factors which either contribute to rural development or are said to represent development directly. At times the distinction is introduced between 'indicators of social and economic achievement' (for example, higher economic and social status, better housing, higher income) and 'indicators of modernization' (such as diversified sources of income and patterns of consumption, greater interest in the education of children, more active participation in community affairs, etc.). The Bangladesh study, which followed this approach, comes to the interesting conclusion that educational factors correlate less with achievement indicators than with modernization indicators.

Several studies have examined the statistical association between school education and farmers' productivity: their findings are reviewed in [*3*] and [*10*].

Others deal with the effects of education on such variables as fertility, health, nutritional levels or household consumption patterns. Still others analyse the effects of education on certain indicators of political participation, social mobility or on various measures of distributive equality. In general, research of this kind has to employ a scheme of multivariate analysis with its attendant complexities. Thus there is a tendency to force the problems to be analysed into a rigid framework of variables which leave little room to explore variations of quality, or to pursue alternatives. It would seem that the complex issue of education's rôle in rural development calls for other complementary research methods.

The case studies on Ethiopia, Bangladesh and India have indeed employed a more varied methodological repertoire. The insights they provide on the quality of selected rural education and training programmes, on their management and co-ordination problems, and their assessment by the rural target population, convey an accurate picture of the reality of rural education. But they refer to limited geographical and cultural contexts so that it is difficult to generalize. As one seminar participant pointed out, research findings related to rural development present particular problems of transferability, whether they refer to education, social organization or agricultural technology. Any area chosen for study needs to be understood as a unique socio-cultural and ecological system, and the effects of education or other measures tend to be more complex than can be encapsulated in most multi-variate analyses.[1]

1. This approach, which underlies the Food Systems and Society Programme of the United Nations Research Institute for Social Development, is elaborated in [*7*].

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There is an extensive literature that ostensibly proves, or asserts that education plays a positive rôle in rural development. However, in many cases, education has unfortunately been unable to live up to its supposed rôle as a change agent and major dynamic force for rural development.

Formal school systems in developing countries, dissociated from the realities of rural life, have expanded massively and taken up ever-increasing shares of national resources. However, their quality has remained poor and their contribution to rural advancement often questionable. In fact, there is solid evidence to suggest that the education which is imparted in primary and secondary schools has often been counter-productive to rural development; it is implicated in the exodus of talent from the rural areas; it orients students towards the small modern sector which is concentrated in the cities and already hard-pressed to absorb the influx of young labour-force entrants; its curricula and structures are patterned on colonial models, and ignore the real learning needs of the rural poor. It has similarly been argued that many nonformal programmes do no more than 'cool out' the aspirations of rural people for upward social and occupational mobility (Bock and Papagiannis, 1983).

Some of these assertions are no doubt well-founded. What they imply is the need to pin-point those constraints which diminish the potential of education as a dynamic force of rural development. The Nepal Seminar and the case studies it reviewed focused on lack of integration as perhaps the principal constraint preventing education from playing a positive rôle in rural development. But there are other constraints which are equally or more important in many developing countries. Problems of integration should not be emphasized to the exclusion of considering other constraints.

There is, first of all, the ideological function of schooling as a stepping-stone to the modern sector and to the higher social status that goes with it. The pronounced dualism of certain Third-World economies, along with the concentration of industries, government bureaucracies, services and commerce in the cities, exacerbates this effect. It is small wonder that many nonformal education programmes or attempts to create a genuinely rural school adapted to its environment, are rejected by the rural people as a dead-end and inferior form of education.

Rural areas in many developing countries are characterized by deeply ingrained power structures and communal divisions. For those who have a stake in the maintenance and reproduction of these structures, the school system, precisely because of its selectivity, urban bias and irrelevance to rural life, may work perfectly well. To the extent that such vested interests exist, it would be futile for research to try and reduce the problems of rural education to the technical dimension of better integration and co-ordination.

A further constraint is the grossly ineffective delivery system of education which anyone familiar with the actual condition of primary schools in the rural areas of developing countries knows only too well. Ironically, attempts at integrating rural schools more imaginatively in their environment have often made the teachers' task more complicated; burdened with an increasing num-

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ber of extra-curricular tasks, the teachers tend to become unmotivated, overworked and increasingly ill-qualified. Absenteeism amongst teachers as well as amongst students runs high. The Bangladesh case study which quotes recent research on the reality of primary schooling in rural areas of that country is an example. While the official primary-school enrolment ratios for rural boys and girls are 58 per cent and 37 per cent respectively, actual attendance in the rainy season is down to some 23 per cent. Around 80 per cent of all pupils drop out before reaching the final grade of primary school.

These are some of the constraints which impinge on the contribution of education to rural development. Others, particularly certain weaknesses of the administrative infrastructure, have been analysed by earlier IIEP research (Lyons, 1981). Together, these facts tend to underscore the point that lack of integration is only one of the obstacles in the way of enhancing education's rôle in rural develoment.

Research evidence concerning the effects of education

The papers and case studies which were discussed at the Nepal Seminar present, when taken together, a very detailed but frequently also contradictory body of evidence as regards the effects of education on rural development. Their findings are not restricted to school education only but include studies of the effects of literacy and other nonformal programmes, such as agricultural extension or self-employment training for rural youth. At the same time, the papers and case studies differ according to the specific aspects or dimensions of rural development they have singled out for analysis. There are those who see little value in trying to trace the effects of education beyond the immediate changes in attitudes and practices induced by schooling or by participation in a given nonformal programme. Typically, therefore, their approach compares the outlook, values and behavioural patterns of rural dwellers exposed to educational influences, whether formal or nonformal, with those of a less-educated control group. The attitudes and practices examined cover the dimensions of economic, communal and family life. Together, these studies provide an attractive opportunity to validate or disprove Alex Inkeles' famous theory, according to which education in developing countries promotes individual modernization (Inkeles, 1974). They will be discussed in the following section.

At the same time, some of the papers and case studies attempt to measure the correlation of education, defined exclusively in terms of schooling, with tangible indicators of economic and social achievement. In part, they limit themselves to reviewing the collective evidence of other studies, particularly those dealing with the effect of schooling on agricultural productivity. Their findings on this point will be discussed in the final section.

The effects of education on change in attitudes and practices

In the economic sphere of rural life, education exerts a powerful influence on attitudes and practices. In the Indian case study, it is the level of school education which, more than any other factor, distinguishes the participants in

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agricultural extension and nonformal skill-training programmes from other rural dwellers. Having attended school not only makes a person aware of what nonformal training programmes exist, but also imparts the necessary initiative and self-confidence to enrol in such programmes. In short, this suggests a very important linkage between schooling and nonformal learning. But how effective is the latter in persuading farmers to adopt new educational practices?

The evidence from both the Indian and Ethiopian case studies is again positive, although it makes a decisive difference whether the agricultural extension programmes are well or poorly executed. In an area in which the agricultural training and visit system is functioning well, the Indian case study finds that modern agricultural practices, such as soil testing, use of high-yield varieties and fertilizers, use of modern steel ploughs or pest control, have been adopted by 62-100 per cent of all Contact Farmers. In the adjacent area where the programme exists in name only, adoption rates are significantly lower. As an interesting sidelight, the level of school education seems to reinforce significantly the effect of agricultural extension programmes. Similarly, the Ethiopian case study finds that the modern agricultural practices imparted by the extension agent have been adopted by 85 per cent of all Producer Co-operative members. The programme, on the other hand, seems much less effective amongst members of Peasant Associations. Non-adoption is, however, not necessarily related to educational factors. New agricultural practices which education and training programmes seek to convey must meet several conditions to be acceptable to peasant farmers. As A. Figueroa points out in [*10*], they must be 'neutral with respect to scale' so that they can be equally applied to small or to large agricultural units; they should economize not in terms of labour and man hours but in those factors which are scarcest from the point of view of the peasant farmer; they should, furthermore, not so much aim at increasing average yields but try to reduce risk. Finally, they should not force the peasant into specialized farming of a single crop but rather allow him to maintain and develop his traditional portfolio of activities. Even if these conditions are met, it is unrealistic to suppose that even the best agricultural extension programme will lead to a sweeping and rapid adoption of the practices taught. This is due not only to the traditional risk-aversion attitude of farmers; it is also rooted in the annual agricultural cycle which determines the pace of adjustments which a peasant can make, and in the fact that several agricultural cycles are required to accumulate clear evidence on whether the new practices are profitable and viable.

The effects of education are not confined to agricultural practices only. The nonformal training programme examined by the Indian study has been able to generate self-employment among roughly half of its participants. The effect might have been greater if the training received had been supported by non-educational follow-up measures. Rural credit, in particular, seems difficult to obtain. But as the Indian study notes, it is again the educated who know how to use the credit opportunities which are available more successfully: the level of schooling and access to credit are significantly correlated.

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Yet another effect of education on economic practice is observed in the Bangladesh study; villages with a generally high level of literacy have a much greater degree of occupational diversification and, correspondingly, a greater variety of income sources: 31 per cent of all households in high-literacy villages, as against only 12 per cent in low-literacy villages, practise a combination of agriculture, small commerce, services or an independent profession. These additional activities supplement agriculture as a source of income. Factors other than education, such as proximity to urban centres or quality of agricultural land, certainly do contribute to this diversification of the economic base. But many participants at the Nepal Seminar argued that without education, peasant farmers are less likely to venture into new economic activities.

When it comes to attitudes and practices related less to economic issues than to social interaction and communal life, education seems to be a mixed blessing. School education is no doubt a major mobilizing factor associated with rural exodus. As the educated leave the villages for larger towns and eventually the capital city, the rural communities are depleted of their most enterprising and innovatie members. The Ethiopian case study points out how school education until now has functioned so as to facilitate the movement of the educated away from the rural sector. The system of school education is so organized that higher levels of education are available only in progressively larger urban centres. But perhaps the content of education has been more important than this physical pull, in that the educational system prepares students more for white-collar and professional careers than for participation in directly productive activities, such as agriculture. Thus, in the particular rural district analysed by the Ethiopian study, over 80 per cent of children who had been to school had chosen not to become farmers and of those who had, most had attended only up to the fourth grade.

Similar concerns, though not quantified, are expressed in the other papers and case studies presented to the Seminar. It is noteworthy, however, that migration seems to have positive side-effects as well; the Ethiopian study notes that some 10 per cent of all migrants who had left their rural communities were sending regular remittances to their parents or families. Similarly, Udo Bude quotes the experience of Cameroon where the return of migrants to their home communities seems to have had very positive influences—'The combination of primary school education with experience outside the home region, particularly on commercially operated plantations, seems to increase readiness to absorb innovations'([6], p. 19).

The rôle of education in rural exodus is partly offset by other more beneficial effects. The Ethiopian study finds that communications skills have greatly improved as the result of participation in the national literacy campaign. In the admittedly very small sample it examined, 40 per cent of the farmers who had participated in the campaign were now daily readers, mainly of pamphlets and materials related to farming; 53 per cent reported writing business or personal letters at least once a week. Perhaps more importantly, education tends to encourage participation in grass-roots-level organizations. The Indian case

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study quotes a significant correlation between level of schooling and membership in village organizations. In the Bangladesh study, involvement in the co-operative society and local government is greater for high-literacy villages, though the difference with low-literacy villages is not statistically significant. Overall, only 8 per cent of rural households in the four villages studied participated in such organizations at all.

The papers and case studies also furnish evidence on the rôle of education as regards attitudes and practices related to family life. They do not confirm the prevailing view (World Bank, 1984; Cochrane, 1980), according to which education is related to lower birth rates and infant mortality, as well as to better health status. For instance, the Indian study finds no significant correlation between level of schooling of either household heads or their wives, and such variables as number of children, incidence of sterilization or health conditions in the family. In the Bangladesh case, traditional health practices are on the decline in high-literacy villages but education of household heads makes no difference as far as the adoption of family planning is concerned. Furthermore, high-literacy and low-literacy villages are much the same as far as the preferred number of children or the age at marriage are concerned.

Education has a much more powerful influence on the school attendance of children. In this respect, the case studies present some interesting nuances. In India, it is only the educational level of the household head and not that of his wife which correlates significantly with educational attainments of the family, including children. In Bangladesh, on the other hand, the overall educational level of the family, including that of the wives, predicts children's school attendance much better than the level of education of the household head alone. Significantly, the effect of parents' education on schooling of children is reinforced in villages where the general literacy level is high; the difference between high-literacy and low-literacy villages is particularly marked at the extremes of the educational continuum, i.e. in the relative proportion of households sending all *versus* none of their children to school.

Finally, the Bangladesh study offers a glimpse of the way in which household expenditure patterns, and use of modern as against traditional household items, are associated with education. In high-literacy villages, modern hurricane lamps have largely replaced the traditional *kupi*, beds are used instead of simple mats, reading materials are available and latrines are more common. The composite index constructed for the availability of such modern items and facilities correlates significantly with the general level of literacy in a village. At the same time, there are interesting shifts in the patterns of household expenditure: low-literacy villages devote some 80 per cent of their household expenditure to food and house repairs, against only 72.5 per cent in high-literacy villages. The latter devote some 15 per cent to educational and cultural activities, compared to only 4 per cent in low-literacy villages. These differences are all the more noteworthy as high- and low-literacy villages have much the same income levels overall.

The research findings that were discussed included only passing references to

47 BEST COPY AVAILABLE

the possible effects of education on male/female rôle differentials in rural society. Several seminar participants drew attention to this lacuna. Only the Bangladesh study, based on its method of comparing high- and low-literacy villages, offers some limited, and not very reassuring, evidence: in villages where the general level of literacy is high, many more girls are sent to primary school; strikingly, however, the difference in educational opportunity in favour of boys is much more pronounced in these villages than where parents themselves are illiterate.

On the whole, the fragmentary and at times sparse research evidence presented to the Nepal Seminar seems to suggest at least one conclusion. In an often stagnant rural context, education acts, for better or for worse, as a mobilizing force. In both its formal and nonformal modes, education changes the outlook and practices of farmers in economic and communal affairs, as well as within their own families. Whilst such changes may not in and by themselves constitute rural development, it is difficult to see how any development can be achieved without this mobilizing function of education.

The effects of education on social and economic achievements

If rural development is measured in terms of tangible economic and social achievements, the contribution of education becomes a matter of controversy. Statistical correlations between years of schooling or literacy levels on the one hand, and such variables as income, agricultural productivity, occupational status or size of land-holdings on the other, need to be interpreted with caution, even where they turn out to be significant (World Bank, 1980, Chap. 5). The Indian case study does find significant correlations between years of schooling and farmers' income, occupational status and land-holding. However, the causality behind these relationships is known to cut both ways. Perhaps the most plausible interpretation would be one of a cumulative relationship: the initial economic and social status of a rural family is likely to enhance its demand for schooling. Children from such families study longer and with greater success. Few would dispute that their educational achievements subsequently contribute to greater productivity and higher income levels. However, so many imponderabilities and additional factors enter into this process that simple linear correlations or even more refined multivariate analyses convey a very incomplete and often misleading picture. Adolfo Figueroa's seminar paper includes an admirably detailed review of this type of research, particularly of recent studies which analyse the effect of both schooling and extension education on agricultural productivity (Lockheed *et al.*, 1980; Jamieson and Moock, 1981). He concludes that... 'the empirical evidence on the effect of education on agricultural productivity is weak and incomplete. Though the evidence on the effect of formal education appears to be better documented, the results are not very robust. The effect seems to depend on the degree of modernization in which the peasant acts and also on the success reached in passing beyond the crucial point in years of schooling. In the case of agricultural extension, the evidence is even weaker: the statistical

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correlations found have not been able to isolate the pure effect of the extension activities. In addition, there are arguments which question the educational role of extension programmes and give them instead a mediator function between the farmer and access to credit and inputs. The correlations seem to be measuring this effect of mediation and not so much the educational effect' ([*10*], p. 18).

It is probably fair to say that this verdict refers to the problems of current research methods as much as to education itself. Nevertheless, one should not lose sight of the fact that productivity and income levels are only one dimension of rural development. To those more concerned with distributional equity, the Bangladesh case study has a modest but significant piece of evidence to offer. Villages which are characterized by generally high levels of literacy show consistently lower degrees of inequality for selected social and economic variables than is the case with low-literacy villages. There are good reasons for interpreting this finding with caution: the empirical base from which it derives is very limited, and ingrained inequalities, particularly in respect of land-ownership and social status associated with caste, remain relatively more pronounced even in high-literacy villages. But the hypothesis that education has an equalizing effect in rural development is worth further examination.

While definite conclusions about the rôle of education in rural development will thus require a much more solid research base, the discussions at the Nepal Seminar do suggest two final remarks.

The first is a paradox. In the rural areas of most developing countries, education is an extremely poorly delivered public service. On the other hand, its potential for reaching the rural masses is greater than that of most other government networks. It has institutions and personnel within convenient reach of the large majority of rural people and it is the only network whose personnel actually live in the villages they are supposed to serve. From a planning and management point of view, its potential for promoting rural development is unique.

The second remark refers to the need for more systematic reinforcement between formal, nonformal and informal education. Evidence of the beneficial effects of such reinforcement, even where systematic planning and co-ordination are absent, is undeniable. The strengthening of education's rôle in rural development therefore demands that the various components of the diversified educational field be more purposefully interlinked.

49

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CHAPTER IV

Schooling, literacy and nonformal skill training: the need for linkages

The Nepal Seminar discussed in special working groups the different main components of basic educational services in rural areas. At their centre is, of course, the rural primary school itself. But as much in practical as theoretical terms, it makes good sense not to limit this concept of basic education to primary schooling only. Current definitions (Ahmed, 1985), for instance, view it as including early childhood care and pre-school education; the primary school; literacy programmes for youth and adults along with the necessary reinforcement through post-literacy activities; and nonformal skill training programmes in so far as they are geared to basic economic activities and welfare problems in the immediate environment of the learner.

This focus on 'basic' education in the Seminar's discussions was of course not meant to divert attention from the presence in rural areas of 'higher' forms of education: the formal system itself includes secondary schools of the general and vocational type; technical and agricultural institutes leading on to university education; and teacher-training colleges. Similarly, rural areas are frequently host to certain vocational/industrial training programmes of the nonformal type, which are difficult to subsume under the label 'basic education'. Finally, certain forms of traditional, religious education are also common in rural areas; they can in themselves be highly structured, leading up to senior-secondary and university-level education.

The intention is thus not to deny that more advanced forms of education exist in rural areas, nor to claim that the educational opportunities of rural people should be limited to 'basic' education. But the reality in most developing countries is such that one or the other variant of 'basic' education is all that the great majority of rural people will ever experience. A few years spent in a rural primary school, participation in a literacy programme for youth or adults, or some weeks or months of training in one or the other basic rural skills—this sums up the modest educational options actually available.

The rural primary school

As regards the contribution of conventional primary schooling to rural development, many Seminar participants saw cause for scepticism. The experience of seeing primary-school graduates leave the rural areas as soon as circumstances permit, is apparently common to most developing countries. This process implies a loss to the rural sector of educated and motivated human resources; even those who stay are said to disdain manual work, and rarely choose to continue with the parental occupation of agriculture. Amongst other sources, the Ethiopian case study seems to confirm this impression. But here as elsewhere, clichés are easily misleading. Can the primary school's rôle in rural exodus and in producing white-collar attitudes really be blamed on inappropriate curricula? Or on the, admittedly striking, quality differences between urban and rural schools? Or on the middle-class background of many teachers, whose teaching styles and 'hidden curriculum' betray their urban orientation and aspirations?

If the alleged dysfunctionality of primary schools for rural development was indeed rooted in such purely educational factors, surely the curricular reforms, better teaching aids, and teacher-training programmes which most developed countries have actively promoted over so many years would have brought about some improvements. That this has by and large not been the case should make the critics of the rural primary school stop and think. The lack of interest and enthusiasm for rural development which many primary-school leavers demonstrate so clearly, is more likely to be the symptom of a larger problem: the system of socio-economic rewards and opportunities for earning income, with its unmistakable bias in favour of urban areas. It would be naive to expect that in societies dominated by this pattern the school could do much else than reflect and reproduce the conditions which actually prevail. Within the larger ideology of an urban-centred development model, the school performs this reproductive function with sometimes frightening perfection (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977). And as for the rural students themselves, their desire to use the school as a stepping-stone to urban life only shows how well they have internalized a broader logic of which the school system is only a part.

If most Seminar participants tended to support this view, there were others who credited school education with certain indirect and unexpected benefits for rural development. Thus, many liberation and revolutionary movements had been spearheaded by students sensitive to the poverty and neglect of rural areas from which they themselves originated. In the case of Ethiopia, for instance, the 1974 Revolution could be traced to student movements. It could certainly be argued in such situations that the relationship between rural development and school education is a dialectical on, i.e. nurtured by the glaring contradictions between the educational messages on the one hand, and the rural misery on the other.

On a somewhat different level, mention was also made of the positive backlash effect of rural out-migration on the departure areas. In many coun-

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tries the former migrants who, thanks to their education and hard work, have succeeded in the cities, tend to maintain close links with their rural homes. This can be through regular remittances, contributions to associations devoted to improving and helping the home communities, or even eventual return migration.

Such examples cannot take away from the fact that, in a very large number of developing countries, primary schooling has not been a positive force for rural development. Educationists have recognized this failing early and explicitly enough, and have tried to remedy it with the only means at their disposal: reform in the objectives, curricula, and pedagogical methods used in school.

A leading example is the basic-education model which Mahatma Gandhi developed in India some 40 years ago, at the onset of independence (Sinclair, 1976). He saw primary education as a process by which even the most deprived could learn to lead productive lives, use mental and manual skills together, and maintain self-sufficiency as members of the rural community to which they belonged. Craft-based curricula were developed, which included spinning and weaving, agriculture, woodwork and metal work, but also a study of the social and material environment, and the basic skills of literacy and numeracy. This approach was expected to serve a twin objective: rendering the schools financially self-sufficient and, at the same time, engendering an interest in manual work so as to dissipate the prevailing, caste-related attitude of contempt. Students were supposed to be able to support themselves on leaving school by means of the craft skills they had acquired.

The Gandhian scheme of basic education failed to gain acceptance, as did countless subsequent attempts to implant in the rural areas of developing countries a 'ruralized' primary school more effectively geared to the needs of rural people. The main ideas of these later innovations have been more or less the same: to replace the traditional subjects with so-called integrated curricula which revolve around aspects of the immediate rural environment and around practical activities; to strengthen skill formation and social responsibility by involving students in concrete projects either in the school itself or in the community; to encourage, accordingly, more activity-oriented teaching methods; to train a new kind of teacher who will at the same time assume the rôle of change agent in the community,[1] and to try and re-integrate school drop-outs.

All these are undoubtedly sound educational principles. Why then has the 'ruralization' of primary schools failed? Why have so many pilot schemes been discreetly abolished after a number of years? Why have so few of them tangibly affected the rural environment? It is true that levels of expectation were inordinately high when these experiences were launched throughout the 1960s and 1970s. A certain amount of disenchantment was unavoidable. But the reasons for failure lie deeper. The Nepal Seminar highlighted two of them.

1. See the primary school reform attempted in Cameroon, described by Lallez, 1974.

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First, the pilot schemes of rural education shared all the typical weaknesses of a project-based approach to development.[1] All went well as long as the educational innovations were nurtured in the confines of carefully identified, well planned and generously equipped pilot projects. It was at the generalization stage that the problems tended to come to the surface. The capacity of the school system to adopt and absorb the innovation had been overestimated. The co-operation of parents and teachers' unions had been taken for granted. The autonomy from bureaucratic pressures which the project had benefited from during the pilot stage turned into isolation and lack of support. The desk work of specialists that had gone into curriculum development, teacher training, etc., now showed up as an absence of popular participation and community involvement.

Second, the tension between the social-selection function of the school, and its attempt to genuinely serve the rural environment, was never convincingly resolved. True, agricultural or pre-vocational subjects were included in the new, integrated curricula. Quite a few countries came up with ingenious methods to impart elementary science skills and the rudiments of scientific procedure in rural primary schools. However, the examination systems hardly honoured the pedagogical progress achieved in this way. Success in the primary-school exam continued to depend on cognitive performance in the traditional key subjects; in the eyes of both teachers and taught, the innovative curricular elements, and especially agriculture and rural crafts, were in this way relegated to a secondary position.

Basically, the ruralized primary schools have thus engendered very little change. They continue to profess the dual aim of preparing the majority of students for a rural life, while grooming the 'academically inclined' for secondary and higher education. The contradiction between these aims remains. The attempt to create a school that can be truly instrumental for rural development seems to be giving way to a loosely worded desire for a school that is 'relevant'.

Literacy programmes

The success of literacy programmes in many developing countries marks one of the more striking educational achievements of the recent past. When examining this achievement more closely, one must probably distinguish between mass campaigns for literacy which seek to cover a whole nation in a relatively short time, and more limited approaches which focus on a given group of illiterates in a given area and gradually move on to other groups in other areas.

Whatever the approach, the most immediate measure of success is whether reading and writing skills have been effectively acquired and retained by the target population. This is a gigantic task, especially in the case of mass literacy campaigns conducted in educationally backward, remote and poor rural areas.

The Nepal Seminar stressed three main conditions for such large-scale

1. See the discussion in Chapter I.

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literacy campaigns to succeed. First, a sustained political will must stand behind the campaign and support it all the way down through the administrative structures. As the experience of Cuba, Ethiopia, and other countries suggests, this condition is fulfilled mostly during periods which follow revolutionary change. A second, essential condition is that there be tangible change in the non-educational dimensions of rural development occuring either before or at the same time, so that literacy is relevant and an accelerator effect can set in. A third condition, in the Seminar's view often underestimated, is the availability of reading materials and other provisions to sustain the post-literacy phase.

For the campaign organizers, the critical post-literacy phase seems to present primarily problems of resources and logistics. Materials suitable for neo-literates have to be developed and distributed to rural areas; tutors and appropriate facilities have to be found; the interest and regular attendance of the rural people has to be sustained beyond the initial enthusiasm of learning to read and write. Yet, the problems involved are not just organizational in nature. They are, in fact, deeply rooted in the economic, social, and cultural characteristics of the rural area in question. The neo-literate's environment may not stimulate the use of the newly acquired skills; literacy may not be valued in the rural society, or may be the traditional preserve of certain élites. Economic transactions in a context of subsistence farming may be so limited that neither literacy nor numeracy comes into play.

It is during the post-literacy phase, therefore, where problems of organization meet with more complex constraints of the rural milieu, that a more fundamental measure for the success of literacy programmes has to be sought. The rôle of literacy for rural development itself comes into question.

The encouraging assertions of economists who advocated adult-literacy programmes as an extremely cost-effective way of raising productivity and stimulating the demand for further vocational and agricultural training, went down well during the 1950s and 1960s (for instance, Blaug, 1966). Today they are seen as far too sweeping. There is a second type of argument, however, equally assertive in form but more profound in substance. It is the argument which claims that the acquisition of literacy itself is development: 'For people who have been slaves or have been oppressed, exploited, and humiliated by colonialism, 'development' means 'liberation'. An action which gives them more say in determining their own affairs and in running their lives is one of development, even if it does not offer them better health or more bread' (TANU Guidelines, 1971).

That literacy amounts to liberation, and liberation to development, may explain more than anything else the enthusiastic participation of rural people even in areas where the written word has virtually no place whatsoever in any aspect of life. Yet, the problem of sustaining development over and above the literacy campaign itself remains. In fact, the Nepal Seminar questioned the wisdom of teaching literacy before the conditions for its effective use have been created. For no development is likely to ensue when the gap between literacy

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and an essentially pre-literate environment is too wide. In this sense, the ultimate development impact of literacy programmes depends not only on the quantity and quality of reading materials made available during the post-literacy phase, but more so on effective and vigorous action to make the environment favourable to wide-spread use of written communication. This might involve a tricky paradox of numbers. Only where literacy campaigns are able to reach a majority of the population, a critical mass as it were, can they generate the momentum needed for their own success. For as Bormuth (1978) rightly argues, 'being the only literate in a society is about as desirable as owning the only telephone in town—the greater the number of literates in a society, the more valuable is the literacy of those who achieve it'.

The effectiveness of literacy programmes in rural development also hinges on their capacity to transmit, along with reading, writing, and numeracy, immediately functional and practical know-how that can be applied in the rural environment. Participants in the Nepal Seminar considered the functionality of literacy programmes, in this sense, as being very limited indeed. The possibility that certain functional literacy programmes in rural areas might even generate their own income to any significant extent was seen as remote.

A distinction should be made, however, between the 'functionality of literary content', and the 'functionality of participation in literacy programmes'. Whereas the former relates to the subject matter and practical examples to which the teaching of literacy and numeracy is linked, the latter raises the possibility that literacy classes may serve as a starter for people to participate in other programmes of rural development. Evidence as to whether there is such an effect is still incomplete. Certain studies do point out that participation in literacy programmes leads to greater awareness of problems and development opportunities. Experience from Ethiopia and elsewhere suggests, in addition, that successful literacy campaigns can create an enormous, unforeseen demand for primary schooling, among both the neo-literate parents and their children.

Nonformal skill training

The Nepal Seminar considered nonformal skill-training programmes to be a further necessary component of basic educational services in a rural context. It is clear that a relatively large group of concrete training activities will fall into this category. They have in common the fact that the formation of skills—directly relevant and usable in the rural context—takes precedence over the acquisition of knowledge or attitudinal change, although a balance between these three educational domains needs to be maintained. Moreover, they tend to be offered outside the formal school system, as an organized and purposeful group activity, and hence different from informal, incidental learning. Finally, training and skill acquisition may be the main purpose of this group activity, or part and parcel of a larger activity or development project.

Several factors account for the growing need for nonformal skill training in rural areas. Most important, the traditional modes of skill acquisition in the

55
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rural society prove to be increasingly inadequate. The growing population pressure on resources implies that more efficient productive skills, especially in agriculture, need to be made available to a much larger clientèle. The maintenance of new infrastructures, such as irrigation pumps, electrification, communications and transport, and the growing importance of the tertiary sector, require new skills which cannot be learnt in the traditional way. Among the population, expectation levels rise and consumption patterns gradually evolve with the demonstration effect of new products and new technologies entering the rural economy. Traditional artisans can no longer satisfy this demand.

At the same time, new development goals are emerging in the rural areas, put into practice by the government as well as different voluntary agencies. They require, notably in the field of social services, a large variety of training programmes, e.g. for midwives, paramedics, nurses and doctors, but also for rural women to observe basic rules of hygiene, to know the principal methods of contraception, to choose and prepare foodstuffs with due regard to their nutritional value, etc. Training needs in this field can, according to conventional wisdom, be most effectively met through nonformal training.

Another reason for the growing importance of nonformal skill training is the malfunctioning of the rural school system itself. Large numbers of rural youth are leaving the schools without having acquired any practical skills which they could practise and market. If they drop out after two or three years of schooling, they may not even retain the reading, writing, and numeracy skills picked up in school. The practical arts and skills imparted in the framework of 'ruralized' school curricula are usually not taken very seriously, as the Nepal Seminar noted earlier. As a result, the years spent in school are nearly useless to the rural child, especially as the organic process of learning from the parents, craftsmen and community elders by daily observation and practice is interrupted or, at least, made much more difficult during the most formative years.

Priority areas for nonformal skill training in rural areas depend, of course, on socio-economic conditions and the specific nature of national development objectives. The exchange of country experiences at the Nepal Seminar served to highlight the following areas:

— Agriculture and food: skills related to the various aspects and phases of the agricultural production cycle, including the storage, processing, and marketing of agricultural produce;
— Crafts and technology: skills that can be applied both in the house and commercially, in particular relating to old and new rural crafts which provide self-employment, to small-scale agro-based industries, and to the maintenance and repair of agricultural and infrastructural equipment;
— Health care and home economics: skills for professionals and para-professionals in the health field should go hand-in-hand with training of ordinary rural families, on aspects which may range from oral dehydration methods, the building of more economic cooking stoves, and the preparation of more nutritious meals, to family planning methods for men and women;

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— Community organization: skills which enable peasants to make proper use of community services such as rural banks or co-operatives, and to take advantage of their rights *vis-à-vis* different government agencies, the judiciary, and in the framework of local self-government.

While it may be possible to identify priority areas for rural skill training in such general terms, the design of a given training programme must be developed through a participatory process that involves the rural people themselves in an active rôle. Training programmes determined from outside, and not in line with the peasants' own rationality, will never have more than a superficial effect. Programme planners have, in principle, realized this long ago, since the experiences of failure and success have been unequivocal in this respect. If nonformal skill training continues to be imposed from outside, injected into a rural milieu that sees no need for it, the reasons must be sought in administrative inertia and, even more, in the time and effort which an attempt to analyse the training needs of rural people jointly with them represents.

In particular, the Nepal Seminar emphasized the need for a more profound understanding of the productive and social rôles of rural women. Training needs should be derived only after the tasks and responsibilities implied by these rôles have been assessed in a participatory process. Similarly, prior to deciding on the dos and don'ts of agricultural extension messages for farmers, programme planners should make a more serious attempt to understand the traditional wisdom of doing things in certain ways and of rejecting change. Seminar paper [*10*] by Adolfo Figueroa illustrates this point very well.

The effectiveness of nonformal skill training will depend not only on the relevance of the training needs identified, but on the mutual reinforcement between training and material development inputs. Training in a void, legitimized by a vague promise of future usefulness, is obviously a wasted effort; worse still, it can do irreparable damage to the motivation of participants and the credibility of the sponsoring agency. Experience suggests that the ability of nonformal training programmes to provide incentives and to demonstrate the kinds of benefits that will accrue is absolutely vital, if only to offset the appeal and status which is generally associated with formal schooling. Actual training programmes in the field live up to these principles to varying degrees, as the Indian case study with its detailed review of the Agricultural Training and Visit System, and the programme of Training Youth for Self-Employment demonstrates.

'Project-related training' seems to be the formula which most national and external agencies concerned with rural development have chosen in response to these problems. Nonformal skill-training programmes are, in other words, increasingly designed and conducted as integral parts of larger development projects. This avoids many of the problems of co-ordination and reinforcement which confront training programmes undertaken in isolation. But it tends to create others: training programmes often get bound up in schedules and operational plans established in advance and dictated by the logic of the project as a whole. The participatory approach to identifying training needs is rarely

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followed. There is usually neither interest nor time to examine how a nonformal programme carried out as part of the project operations relates to existing patterns of skill training. Participants in the Nepal Seminar had little difficulty in describing examples where such programmes, parachuted into a rural milieu that was only superficially understood, had unknowingly subverted and contradicted indigenous training practices.

The need for linkages

The working-group discussions underlined the existing as well as potential linkages between rural primary schools, adult literacy programmes, and nonformal skill training, when seen as components of basic education. This notion of linkages is itself the logical counterpart of what was called in Section III the 'diversified educational field'. For without appropriate linkages, diversification will simply turn into fragmentation.

Teaching and learning as a social practice of the rural milieu is historically older and, even today, considerably broader than school education. In fact, one of the major driving forces behind the revival of alternative forms of teaching and learning is probably the revelation of glaring deficiencies in the school system.

The process of educational diversification has apparently several overlapping dimensions. The most conspicuous one consists of diversification in the institutional base: far from being a monopoly of the Ministry of Education, education and training in the rural context comes today under an ever-increasing variety of institutional sponsorships. The spectrum involves not only public and private modes, but also centralized and decentralized ones, including programmes created entirely by local initiative. What, then, is the meaning of linkages in an institutionally diversified educational setting? Organizational coordination, resource sharing, and information exchange—these are the modalities which the Seminar stressed. School education and literacy programmes could, for instance, do much more to inform learners of the nonformal skill-training opportunities which exist; resource persons could be shared between schools, skill-training programmes, and functional-literacy classes much more extensively; where attendance in one kind of programme opens up access to another, learners should be guided to take advantage of this opportunity, etc.

A second dimension of diversification is that of delivery modes. The conventional approach that involves a school building, one teacher per class, a fixed curriculum, and groups of students in full-time attendance is not the only way of delivering education. There are many interesting examples of using distance education in rural areas; there are experimental schools where students learn part of the time at home, with the help of self-study modules; there are special 'learning posts' for school drop-outs who may meet in a village house in the evenings to study in small nonformal groups; churches, mosques and temples may be used to provide rural children with an educational foundation. What would be the sense of establishing linkages between such diversified

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educational delivery modes? In the Seminar's view, linkages here mean primarily mutual recognition. Where the co-existence of several types of education, formal or nonformal, modern or traditional, part-time or full-time, can have negative results is when there is no parity of esteem. Instead of recognizing the advantage of much broader, diversified educational opportunities, there is an unfortunate tendency for each institution or programme to lay sole claim to relevance and quality.

Educational diversification is, thirdly, occurring at the level of contents. Even within the formal school itself, there is a move away from the prevailing uniform curricula. While a common core remains, the types of subjects taught, demonstrated, and practised in school may vary between urban and rural areas, pastoral and agricultural regions, hill districts and coastal plains. The diversification of contents goes, of course, much further as between schools and literacy programmes, or nonformal skill-training programmes, although each of these components supposedly forms an integral part of basic education. The idea which underlies this diversification seems simply this: as some educational institutions and programmes are more suitable than others to convey certain educational contents, the main question is 'who does what best?' As far as primary schools and literacy programmes are concerned, many participants at the Nepal Seminar argued that they cannot be suitable instruments of skill formation, and should not be justified on this basis. Not only was the primary school ill-suited to teach pre-vocational subjects or practical arts, but the much heralded 'functionality' of literacy programmes should not be an excuse for agricultural work or political mobilization carried on in the guise of literacy teaching.

An equally thorny issue concerns the division of work between nonformal skill training programmes, initiated by external agencies as part of one or the other development project, and the kind of traditional skill formation that has existed in rural areas long before projects and development experts arrived. The Seminar saw a particular dilemma here. On the one hand, the latter prove to be increasingly inadequate to meet the expanding skill demand for rural development. On the other hand, they provide the basis for any new nonformal skill-training programme that is to be introduced. Failure to understand that traditional skill-formation may convey certain contents more effectively than any ambitious new programme, or that there can be a profitable *modus vivendi* between the new and the old, can result in a variety of conflicts.

For example, skill training by traditional artisans and village elders fulfils, at the same time, an important socialization function that none of the modern skill-training programmes could accomplish equally well. Traditional skill-formation also employs a pedagogy, and a blend of general rules, demonstration and practice which many contemporary programme-planners would do well to study and build upon.

Establishing linkages in the content of these and other forms of basic education in rural areas means, in other words, seeking complementarity and reinforcement rather than competition.

59

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CHAPTER V

Lessons for planning and research

This last chapter draws together the Seminar's conclusions in respect of planning and research. To do so is not only a time-honoured ritual, but also serves a purpose. By indicating the needs for further research, stressing the urgency of certain topics and suggesting appropriate methods of research, seminar participants all over the world attempt to delineate the frontiers of their ignorance. By proposing lessons for planning, however tentative they may be, they claim to have pushed back these frontiers. Research and planning are in this perspective opposites, not associates.

The Nepal Seminar did not really see things this way. In fact, the first conclusion it drew was that for education to play a more active and positive rôle in rural development, research and planning must move much closer together. Planners of educational programmes, formal or nonformal, may not deny the usefulness of research altogether, but do not usually consider it as an ingredient of the planning process itself. Researchers, on the other hand, may keep the planners' concerns in mind but do not actively enough seek out opportunities to test and modify their hypotheses by putting them into practice. The traditional dividing lines between research, planning, design of projects, implementation, and evaluation still hold and are seen as inviolable.

In the Seminar's view, the many unresolved problems concerning the rôle of education in rural development require research and planning to interact more imaginatively. An approach to planning seems required where every action can put earlier premises into question by generating new knowledge which, in turn, gives rise to revision and re-planning. Because of this view, strict compartmentalization between planning and research issues is avoided here. They are part of one and the same challenge.

Rural development

If there is one observation which the Seminar wished to underscore, it is this: research on rural development problems must not begin with any *a priori* notions of what constitutes rural development and how it is best attained. As the discussion of various current definitions of development showed, they are

all inevitably ideological in nature. This might be acceptable, were it not for the fact that *a priori* notions simply don't work when they have to measure up against the people's own views about development. Rather than giving the rural reality a normative sense of direction, or building on policy declarations of what should be, researchers should first try and understand the subjective, complex and often conflicting reality which emerges from the rural people's own perception of their lives.

In terms of research methods, this means a call for more participatory research. Research must involve the peasantry in spelling out what they consider as development, not just as an exercise in grass-roots democracy, but because no other concept of development can be expected to be viable. This also applies to education: research should endeavour to find out what rural people themselves desire in terms of content, goals, and sources of learning. A critical look should be taken at the way in which the 'learning needs' underlying school curricula and certain nonformal programmes have been determined. In most cases, they will have been inferred by well-meaning experts from outside. But what is, in such cases, the implication of research findings which show that the education provided has been dysfunctional or ineffective as regards rural development? Strictly speaking, these findings pronounce a verdict not on the potential of education, but on ill-chosen methods of ascertaining learning needs.

The subjective nature of what counts for rural development implies, *a fortiori*, a strong *caveat* against research set in a comparative framework. It is not only the view from above that may differ from the view from below. Even at the level of official policies, rural development will have greatly varying shades of meaning attached to it in different countries. Comparative research which correlates, for example, years of schooling with agricultural yields per acre, adoption of family planning, membership in village associations, and similar indicators thought to represent rural development across several countries, ignores these differences.

These conceptual weaknesses of quantitative international comparisons are compounded by problems of data validity and reliability. To minimize these, researchers are frequently forced to retreat to very crude levels of measurement. The case studies presented in the second part of this book provide some frank illustrations of this dilemma. Hence the conclusion, stressed by the Seminar, that qualitative micro-research is required to complement quantitative research methods when grappling with the complex notion of rural development.

Lessons regarding research on rural development are necessarily linked to lessons for planning. The participatory element in research needs an organizational mould. Some of the better-known participatory mechanisms, such as peasant's co-operatives, have however in many cases not yielded good results. A likely reason is that they were stifled by the extremely high degree of centralization and sectoralization in the delivery system for rural development. Decentralization in planning and management is, therefore, needed because it

61
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facilitates popular participation. This argument holds even without considering such additional advantages of decentralization as greater flexibility, shorter implementation chains, better communications, etc.

The issue of decentralization intersects with that of inter-sectoral planning. The profusion of sectoral agencies at the village level, each of them limited to one or the other aspect of rural development, tends to discourage popular participation as much or more than the absence of decentralization. The Nepal Seminar did not consider the problems of inter-sectoral planning in detail, but it is clear that a rural development ministry functioning side by side with the classical sectoral ministries is a very incongruous solution. Equally, inter-sectoral planning for rural development is needed not just at the point of delivery, but throughout the administrative echelons and especially at the national level.

Integration

Problems of integration in the delivery system for rural development will remain a major preoccupation of researchers for some time to come. What makes for integration, and what upsets it, follows no easy formula. Organizational factors seem to be just as important as the degree of grass-roots participation which can provide an indispensable integrative mechanism. Case-study evidence is important here. Whilst their findings are limited to the specific context of the country, or indeed of the region and district studied, this is more than compensated for by their immediate practical relevance. Much of the critical evidence turned up by the Ethiopian, Indian, and Bangladesh case studies can, in fact, be translated into concrete improvements of programme planning and management, as well as more effective implementation techniques. To search for a larger truth, for a generalizable theory of integration in rural development, is perhaps a vain undertaking. The Nepal Seminar, at least, concluded that the concept of 'integration' should be studied not in the abstract, but as a concrete process the forms and conditions of which vary from one national situation to another.

This suggests, at the same time, a lesson as to the methods of research to be used. If integration can best be understood as a process, it is only natural to resort to action research in studying it. For action research is in itself a learning process. Many Seminar participants, and more particularly those representing international aid agencies, felt very strongly that action research was far more fruitful than desk research or empirical studies based on a fixed research design in dealing with problems of integration in rural development. The high costs associated with action research were more than warranted by the ability to trace the integration problems and development impact of innovative educational projects, and modify their design in the process.

Several important lessons for planning are linked to this view of research. One concerns the way in which integrated rural development projects are planned. In most cases, such planning is based on what a recent publication

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(Cremer, 1984) has called the 'blueprint method': before launching the project, all project activities and expected outputs are judiciously identified and scheduled in the perspective of maximum mutual reinforcement; its organizational structure and managerial responsibilities are fixed; its effects on a larger, unstable, and partly unknown rural environment are expected to come about within a fixed time horizon. Against this rigid and directive approach to planning, the Nepal Seminar called for integrated rural development projects that are designed and planned as learning processes. The choice of project activities, their mix and timing, are to occur in an open-ended and iterative planning sequence; organizational structures may change as the rural people gradually take interest and assume responsibility; the borderline between the project and its environment should not be rigidly defined; in fact, a significant part of the project activities (and resources) may be devoted to understanding the rural world outside the project itself.

Planning that proceeds on these assumptions is neither error-free nor conflict-free. It does not pretend that planned intervention into the rural environment can minimize errors if only the prior analysis is detailed enough; nor that either the implementation of projects, or the broader social reality of which they are a part, is based on an easy consensus. It refuses to draw a line between the design of a project and the knotty problems of implementation which are intimately connected. The Nepal Seminar noted, as a sidelight, how much the planners' customary position in a 'staff function' divorced from 'line responsibilities' tends to contradict this view. If the lessons for planning outlined here are to be taken seriously, a great many organizational changes, in Education Ministries as elsewhere, will be the inevitable consequence.

A further conclusion concerns the great importance that needs to be attached to the generalization of successful integrated rural development projects. This represents a planning problem *par excellence*, and to underestimate it is one of the most common sources of failure. Too many planners have treated the problems of replication and generalization as involving a mere extrapolation of the project experience. They have learnt at their cost that this is not so. Projects usually have a large number of atypical and non-replicable features, especially as regards the administrative structures they rely on, the qualifications and training they presuppose, and the recurrent cost levels they entail. It is extremely important for planners, if not to minimize such factors, at least to be able to pinpoint them from the outset.

The effects of education

Research into the effects of education on rural development must not expect simple answers. This realization underlies the long list of research topics which the Nepal Seminar discussed and considered important. Simple answers are not possible since the notion of 'effects' is itself a complex one.

Effects of education on the individual need to be distinguished from effects on the community, or on the rural sector at large. In no case can the more

63 BEST COPY AVAILABLE

aggregate effects be taken simply as a summation of individual effects. At the same time, the time-horizon needs to be specified: immediate effects of education are probably quite different in nature from those which occur in the medium term, or indeed over one or more generations. The effects of education can show in different spheres, e.g. in the rural economy, in the family and the larger social structure (issues of mobility and equality, for example), or in political life (issues of participation and awareness of opportunities and rights). It is probably useful to examine not only intended effects, but also unintentional ones. And it is, finally, essential to recognize that educational effects are often, to a greater or lesser extent, conditioned by a number of intervening factors.

Multivariate statistical analysis is the research method most widely used to capture the effects of education on rural development. The technical sophistication of multivariate analysis, e.g. in controlling for intervening variables, is no doubt considerable. But the difficulties of distinguishing between individual and collective, immediate and long-term, intended and unintentional effects, etc., remain. Very often, multivariate analyses operate on a level of aggregation that can no longer pretend to grasp changes in behaviour, beliefs, and attitudes of individual human beings. This is, of course, not due to any inbuilt limitations of the method but simply to the difficulties of obtaining individual-level data in Third-World countries. Moreover, the independent variable 'education' is rarely analysed to distinguish between conducive and inhibiting factors within the educational process itself. It is, after all, vital to know what particular features of an educational programme—content, profile of teachers, teaching methods, learner characteristics, physical facilities, etc.—have caused a given effect on rural development, or else militated against it.

In this sense, the Seminar called for research that would help open the black box of just how certain types of education attain or fail to attain their learning objectives, and eventually produce effects on rural development. Comparatively few studies have been made in developing countries about this core aspect of the problem, be it in respect of conventional schooling, experimental schools with a 'rural bias', literacy campaigns, skill-training programmes, or any other form of education and training in rural areas.

This line of research also includes studies pertaining to factors of failure and success within educational programmes themselves. It is necessary to understand that many such programmes remain ineffective not because they are irrelevant to rural development, but because they are not viable educationally. For reasons which it is important to analyse in detail, they simply do not catch on with their intended clientèle. A long list of research questions were put forward by Seminar participants in this connection. How can teaching methods, for instance, be varied to correspond better to certain important characteristics of their rural target groups—to their age, sex, marital status, socio-economic status, previous occupational experience, etc.? Can it be shown that programmes which have determined learning needs and programme contents through a participatory approach, retain learners more effec-

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tively? Can the difficulties of certain literacy programmes be blamed, in part, on a wrong balance between teaching of literacy and numeracy, on the one hand, and functional know-how, on the other? Similarly, can the non-attractiveness of certain nonformal skill-training programmes be attributed to over-emphasis on the skill component at the expense of attitude-building and transmission of knowledge? Are rural primary schools which teach agriculture through a science-based approach more successful than others which use a vocational-training approach for the same purpose?

The agenda for future research is thus long and complicated; quite logically, therefore, the lessons for planning which the Seminar offered were more in the nature of *caveats*.

Firstly, educational planners can no longer base their plans and investment decisions regarding schooling and literacy in rural areas on the crude evidence of correlation studies. To argue in the spirit of human-capital theory that more of the same education will inevitably raise *per capita* income or agricultural productivity in rural areas is today no longer acceptable.

Second, the high hopes originally attached to the concept of a 'ruralized' primary school cannot be maintained. The evidence is that most of these reform schools designed for the rural environment have failed on their own educational terms, let alone being able to prove their effects on rural development. What is euphemistically circumscribed as their 'dual function' is, in fact, an in-built contradiction which renders these ruralized primary schools educationally not viable.

Third, the effects of literacy programmes on rural development are mediated primarily through the acquisition, retention and practical use of literacy, and not through the functional skills with which it is integrated; the latter should serve as a facilitator for literacy, rather than as an additional and competing learning objective. The post-literacy phase, vital as far as the ultimate development impact is concerned, presents a particular challenge to planners: the setting-up of post-literacy groups and village reading centres, and the distribution of reading materials, must go hand-in-hand with action to open up the rural environment for wide-spread use of the written word.

The fourth planning *caveat* concerns the area of nonformal skill training. The recent trend towards project-based training is, in the Seminar's view, sound. It eschews the danger of conducting training programmes in a void, i.e. without the technical and material backstopping that is needed to convert skill acquisition into developmental action. However, where training is too intimately bound up with pre-defined project activities and schedules, its eventual insertion into the rural milieu after the project is likely to pose serious problems.

Diversification and linkages

Of the different problem areas addressed by the Nepal Seminar, the question of diversification and linkages within the educational field itself is probably most in need of further research.

65 BEST COPY AVAILABLE

A variety of education and training programmes have sprung up in the rural areas of many countries. Presumably they are responding to educational needs unmet by the school. The Seminar discussed the case of literacy programmes and nonformal skill training in some detail; one might add the traditional, religiously inspired forms of education which have continued to exist in many developing countries, especially in rural areas not fully penetrated by modern schooling. Between the formal system and these other educational modes, there seem to exist relationships of complementarity, substitution and—not to be ruled out—more or less open conflict. Together, they form a network of rural learning opportunities about which little is known. The network lacks transparency to both users and suppliers. It is not sufficiently open, in the sense of allowing for individual mobility, and it is, for better or for worse, far from being co-ordinated and planned.

Given this context, what are the lines of research which the Seminar thought most important? The most fundamental research concern was put in the following terms: is it possible to show that diversified networks of education have more varied and more substantial effects on rural development than 'single-track' approaches? Behind this question stand hypotheses such as the following: if one single type of institution has to cater to an ever-growing range of learning needs, if it tries in other words to serve too many purposes, there will be a danger of functional overload; or: the growing complexity of rural development problems leads almost automatically to a more diversified set of educational institutions, with specific contents and addressing specific clientèles.

All this, of course, needs to be validated and made more concrete. In discussing the linkages between schooling, literacy, and nonformal skill training, for instance, it is easy to agree in theory that each of these has particular rôles to play in support of rural development. But what these specific rôles, and the relative strengths and weaknesses of each educational mode, could be, cannot be answered without a great deal of additional research. Could nonformal skill-training programmes, for instance, be stronger if they were to include literacy training as well, or if they were offered in combination with prior attendance in literacy classes? Is the relatively abstract learning environment of formal schools not more appropriate for adults who might be too immersed in practice, rather than for children who lack precisely that exposure? Are nonformal programmes, conversely, not more suitable for the young whose principal need is to develop broader and more meaningful relationships with adult society and the world of work? Up to what point is it possible and desirable to inject modern contents and teaching materials into traditional forms of Koranic or Buddhist education?

The scope for planning under conditions of educational diversification is itself a matter of research. The Nepal Seminar looked in vain for evidence as to where and how diversified networks of education in rural areas have been planned, co-ordinated, and given a sense of overall direction. It seemed all the more important that future research try and take stock of the planning and management practices which have actually worked.

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Yet, certain lessons regarding the planning of diversified rural education can already be suggested. The worst mistake will be to pattern them unquestioningly on the directive planning methods practised in the formal sector. Planning a very diverse set of institutions and programmes cannot have the same objective of allocating resources to ensure the maintenance and expansion of a single monolithic system. Other pre-occupations enter the picture: how can the jumble of institutions and programmes be made more transparent? How can the individual chances for 'educational mobility' be improved? Can duplication between programmes be reduced, where necessary? can obvious gaps be detected? Can common standards of quality be formulated? What means can be employed to steer the network of different institutions and programmes into overall directions that are conducive to rural development?

A lot of ground thus needs to be covered in developing planning methods appropriate to the evolving, broader educational reality in rural areas. The Nepal Seminar saw two preliminary steps as being particularly important. Firstly, planners should assist the rural population, group by group, in articulating their learning needs. Secondly, information needs to be gathered and exchanged so as to make the variety of educational opportunities which are available more transparent, and better suited to what the rural people want to learn.

For educational planners groomed in the technical aspects of plan formulation at the central level, these tasks imply a significant change in outlook. The evidence brought to bear in this volume suggests that education 'planned' in conventional ways tends to be dysfunctional to rural development. There is need in planning today to take a fresh look at the social and political question of how learning needs can best be determined and met, and to break avay from the bureaucratic routine of internalizing, manipulating and transforming information into quantitative plan targets.

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PART TWO

Three case studies

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CHAPTER VI

Education for integrated rural development in Ethiopia: an examination of the problems of transition

Summary version of a case study by

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1. Introduction

Ethiopia today is engaged in a great educational enterprise. The National Literacy Campaign has reached even those segments of rural society in the remotest parts of the country, and a new system of elementary education has been under experimentation for a number of years. Education is carried on in many ways, in many forums, by day and by night, and it may be said that few other areas are as challenging to researchers as developments in this field.

The question that is likely to occur to many people is how functional this has all been. This study addresses itself to a related question, namely the extent to which education is integrated within the particular area of rural development. The study has been undertaken within the framework of a research project of the International Institute for Educational Planning (IIEP).

The explorations undertaken in this particular problem area may have something to offer not only to the education sector, but to rural development planning generally. For, in this study education is regarded not as the function of the Ministry of Education alone, but as the most vital part of all rural development activities. The development of peasant agriculture and the improvement of the health of rural people would be impossible without the spread of functional knowledge in these areas, and such activities are widespread in Ethiopia today. The general problem which this study addresses is whether such rural development activity as goes on, including the vital educational aspect, is co-ordinated and whether it is functionally effective.

This study is expected to be quite different in approach from those studies being undertaken in other countries for the same IIEP study project, since the need for flexibility in such an undertaking was recognized. Hence, it has been possible to look into the Ethiopian case in the context of exploration of a

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situation in transition. This is necessary in order to have a fair and realistic assessment of the problem as it manifests itself in Ethiopia.

It is none the less the hope of the author that the outcomes of the study will contribute in four operational directions as anticipated by IIEP, namely:

— as a guide to the education and training of the pre-investment type required or advisable prior to the launching of an integrated development project;
— as a basis for better articulation of different education and training activities among themselves, particularly as regards their sequence, co-ordination and mutual reinforcement;
— in helping gear education and training more effectively to participatory processes built into a project;
— in suggesting certain considerations which, at the stages of project design, planning, management and evaluation, will make for effective integration rather than friction between education and other service sectors of rural development.

2. Objectives and general procedure of the study

Ethiopia today may be characterized as a country in the process of transitional development. First, since 1974 the country has been undergoing revolutionary change, the ultimate aim of which is the transformation of the traditional society into a socialist society. Secondly, the country has introduced new institutions for rural and educational development which are today in the initial stage of evolution. Thirdly, at the time of this study (1982/83) the country's development was being guided by the National Revolutionary Development Campaign and Central Planning Supreme Council (NRDC-CPSC), a national campaign-oriented planning system, the main objective of which has been to overcome some of the pressing economic and social problems faced by the country in the aftermath of the revolution (PMAC, 1978). In 1984 the planning system was recast by the creation of the Office of the National Committee for Central Planning (PMAC, 1984). The new measure represents a forward step in the Government's aim to promote a comprehensive system of planning. The country's ten-year perspective development plan, which is expected to be in effect by 1984/85, was however prepared under the auspices of the NRDC-CPSC.

The realities of the transitional and dynamic conditions and circumstances in Ethiopia today suggest an exploratory study into the problem of integration of education in rural development on two levels: the national-regional level and the community level.

Objectives

The objectives of the study at the national-regional level include the following:

—To analyse systematically the goals and policies of national development in order to clarify the broad context within which rural development is placed

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and to identify the main dimensions and processes of the development envisaged;

—To examine the national educational goals and policies with a view to determining the degree to which they reflect national development goals and policies and to analysing the broad strategy adopted to enable education to contribute to the realization of the aims of rural development;

—To examine the planning machinery and processes involved at national level, giving particular attention to the educational aspect so as to determine key integrating elements and processes or impediments to integration in the system;

—To identify indirect forms of linkage of educational planning and management with other sectors, as these may sometimes be important in achieving some degree of integration.

The objectives of the study at the community level focus on the analysis of formal and non-formal education and training activities from different angles. Each such activity is examined to:

—Determine the extent to which educational objectives are related to the total rural development needs in the area;

—Assess to the extent possible the degree to which the objectives are integrated in project design and the extent of their internal consistency;

—Analyse the programme-management and implementation process so as to determine whether and how integration actually takes place where various projects ultimately converge; and

—Within the aspects of the determination of objectives, programme design, management and implementation, study closely the importance assigned to the participatory approach involving the various rural development projects, target groups and the population at large;

—Assess the direct and indirect results of the programmes by way of carefully selected outcome indicators consistent with the development goals.

General study procedure

The study necessarily called for varying methods of investigation at the different levels. On the national and regional levels, the procedure involved the examination of official policies, procedures and practices, as well as interviewing selected persons. The aim here has been to identify the main phases and mechanisms of integration. Attention was focused on the analysis of political and legal processes, the planning system, and the participatory mechanism.

The community-level study required analysis of objectives and programmes through the examination of documentary evidence and interviews of project planners, administrators or specialists available at that level. Aspects of participation and outcome assessment required the design and carrying-out of structured interviews. In the case of the former, the respondents included project personnel, and in the latter, they were the project target groups or the peasant population at large. The procedure used for selecting the members of these groups and the population was as follows:

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—Three peasant associations and two *tinsis* producers' co-operatives (or co-operatives in the process of formation) were purposively selected on the basis of availability of relevant baseline information and degree of exposure to rural development activities;
—Three women's associations were also included, these selected on the basis of proximity to the *Wereda* (district) town;
—Random samples of at least 30 members of each association, co-operative or women's association were then selected and interviewed, the minimum total number of interviewees being 240.

The findings of the interviews were analysed, based on a simple tabulation of data. However, the overall analysis of this aspect, as of other aspects, has been mainly of a qualitative nature.

Limitations of the study

The objectives of the study can be said to have been met to the extent that the conditions and circumstances have permitted. On the whole, it seems that the research questions tended to be rather optimistic about the degree of integration attained in practice under the conditions of development administration that prevail in most developing countries. If there were, therefore, any who had expected an exemplary case of integration of rural development activities, they will unfortunately not find it in this study report.

The data obtained on the basis of the community-level survey have also not been satisfactory in some cases. This reflected in part the difficulty of obtaining accurate and reliable information from the peasants interviewed. Communication with the peasantry has not been easy. Thus, assessment of changes that may have taken place in the area since the time of the last survey was not possible except in a few cases or in a very general way. There is really no need to be uneasy about this matter, because it can with confidence be said that little of consequence for this study, other than participation in the literacy programme, has changed in the area as a whole since our survey of 1978.

Another aspect that may appear to be a limitation is the emphasis placed on the 'system' within which the integration of education takes or does not take place. The emphasis is explained in part by the necessity to provide a fuller context of the new socio-political circumstances in Ethiopia, and in part by the fact that the problem of integration of education in rural development, by definition, calls for the treatment of the problem of integration in general.

3. Education in Ethiopia: instrument of social mobilization and rural development

Rural development perspectives in Ethiopia

The origin of the 1974 Ethiopian Revolution had been the struggle to do away with the exploitative agrarian relations of production which had inhibited not only the expansion of the productive forces in agriculture but also the develop-

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ment of the national economy as a whole. The first major step of the Provisional Military Administrative Council (PMAC) was therefore to enact the *Proclamation to Provide for the Public Ownership of Rural Lands* (PMAC, 1975a). The significance attached to that proclamation can be appreciated from its preamble which reads:

> 'Whereas, in countries like Ethiopia, where the economy is agricultural a person's right, honour, status and standard of living is determined by his relation to the land...
> Whereas, the development of Ethiopia of the future can be assured not by permitting the exploitation of the many by the few as is now the case, but only by instituting basic change in agrarian relations which would lay the basis upon which, through work by cooperation, the development of one becomes the development of all...
> Whereas, it is necessary to distribute land, increase rural income, and thereby lay the basis for the expansion of industry and the growth of the economy by providing for the participation of the peasantry in the national market;
> Whereas, it is essential to abolish the feudal system in order to release for industry the human labour suppressed within such system;
> Whereas, it is necessary to narrow the gap in rural wealth and income;
> Now, therefore,... it is hereby proclaimed [to provide for the public ownership of rural lands].'

It can be inferred from the Proclamation and from the National Democratic Revolution Programme (PMAC, 1976a), as well, that rural development is seen as a central aspect of national development. A fundamental strategy for realizing the aims of rural development as well as for consolidating the revolutionary gains has been the creation of mass organizations.

Since 1974 much emphasis has been given to the task of creating mass organizations in Ethiopia. The various sectors of society are organized into trade unions, peasant, youth, women's, urban-dwellers' and professional associations. These are not all necessarily independent of each other, but most are organized hierarchically from the basic grass-roots level up to the national level. The organizations of particular interest here are of course the peasant associations, their service co-operatives and the producers' co-operatives.

The purpose of the peasant associations is both to consolidate the revolutionary gains and to stimulate participation of the peasantry in the rural development effort. Ethiopian peasants, nearly all of whom are small individual producers, are expected to play a major rôle in rural and national development through the instrumentality of their peasant associations.

The spread of peasant associations is to be accompanied by the organization of service co-operatives. These latter are to be formed by no less than three and no more than ten peasant associations in a particular area. The functions of the service co-operatives include the following (PMAC, 1975b):

1. to procure crop expansion services;
2. to market the produce of members at fair prices;
3. to give loans at fair interest rates;
4. to give storage and savings services;

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5. to supply consumer goods to the members according to their needs;
6. to give education in socialist philosophy and co-operative work in order to enhance the political consciousness of the peasantry;
7. to supply improved agricultural implements and provide tractor services;
8. to collect contributions;
9. to give flour-mill services;
10. to organize craftsmen in order to promote cottage industry;
11. to provide political education with a view to establishing agricultural producers' co-operative societies by forming, promoting and consolidating mutual aid teams like debo...

The service co-operatives can, therefore, be regarded as the institutions designed to provide the more specialized services which will enable the peasantry to increase agricultural production. Both the peasant associations and service co-operatives are to be understood as transitional institutions which are supposed in due course to give way to the socialist organizations of future society. They are in other words the organizational instruments to enable the peasantry to achieve an improved standard of living and to create the basis of higher levels of development. The expected process of institutional transformation of the peasant associations and service co-operatives is described below.

Each peasant association is ultimately expected to be converted into a kind of work 'brigade' of an enlarged high-level producers' co-operative.

The first stage of development envisaged is the creation of a *malba*, which comes into being when farmland, except for up to one-fifth of a hectare left for individual cultivation, becomes collective property. Farm implements and draught animals remain private property so that distribution of income is based on work contributed and according to implements and draught animals available on rent to the co-operative.

The *malba* can become a *welba*, or an advanced producers' co-operative, when only up to one-tenth of farmland is left for individual use and when all implements and draught animals become co-operative property.

The last stage of development is the creation of the *weland*, in which all land of several *welba*s and their other means of production are brought under its control. The average land size of a *weland* is to be 4,000 hectares and the membership 500 farmers.

Four alternative approaches may be followed leading from the stage of peasant association to the stage of *welba*. The 'normal' path of institutional development as inferred from the *Policy on Agricultural Producers' Co-operative* (Figure 1) is described here. According to this model, at least 30 peasant association members may first form a *malba*. The membership of the *malba* gradually increases and covers the entire peasant association. Then in the last phase, the *malba* is converted into a *welba*.

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FIGURE 1. *Conversion of peasant associations into a* welba

We must now describe how the institutional transformation is expected to take place as regards the service co-operative. Let us assume that in the beginning there are five peasant associations with a total land area of 4,000 hectares and 500 members, all of which are members of a service co-operative. When most or all of these peasant associations develop to the stage of *welba*, their service co-operative becomes what may be termed an 'association of producers' co-operatives' (rather than one of peasant associations).

The association of producers' co-operatives is expected to perform functions similar to those of a service co-operative. The five *welbas* may, however, in time decide to combine their means of production to create a single production unit. That is, they may decide to convert the 'association of producers' co-operatives' into a *weland* (Figure 2). Therefore each *welba* becomes a *habre* of a *weland* and each *habre* may further be divided into smaller production teams.

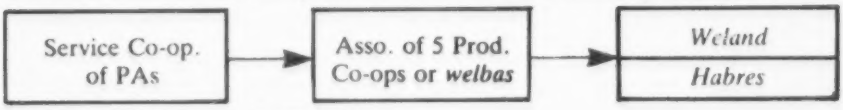

FIGURE 2. *The formation of a* Weland

The entire process of institutional transformation described above is expected to take place within the context of the economic, social and political changes which are to be progressively attained in the transitional society and which can be realized through the rural mass organizations themselves.

Today producer's co-operatives are in the early stages of development. However, Government policy places much emphasis on their promotion. Indeed, extension service in rural areas seems to be centred today on this task.

The framework of organization of future rural society in Ethiopia has been outlined. However, this is not expected to take its final form independently of the economic, social and political changes that are to take place. And most fundamentally, the new rural institutional forms can only become what the Government and the people make of them. Therefore the rôle that education is expected to play is critical for the entire process of institutional change and rural development.

The objectives of education in Ethiopia

The functions of education in Ethiopia today are radically different from those of the pre-revolution period, since it is regarded as the instrument by which the ideology of Socialism is to be inculcated in the minds of the young as well as the adult population. Education is the means through which the scientific and technological requisites for transition to Socialism are to be fulfilled, and by which the masses are to be enabled to shape the new forms of social organiza-

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tion and to manage their own economic and social affairs, These new objectives and the educational strategy to be pursued, particularly in the rural areas, are more fully examined below.

The rôle that education is expected to play is stated in the NDR Programme as follows:

> '... in order to mobilize the energy of the masses for the purpose of increasing production, the following steps need to be undertaken: There will be an educational programme that will provide free education, step by step, to the broad masses. Such a programme will aim at intensifying the struggle against feudalism, imperialism and bureaucratic capitalism. All necessary measures to eliminate illiteracy will be undertaken. All necessary encouragement will be given for the development of science, technology, the arts and literature. All the necessary effort will be made to free the diversified cultures of imperialist cultural domination, from their own reactionary characteristics. Opportunities will be provided to allow them to develop, advance and grow with the aid of modern means and resources...' (PMAC, 1976a).

Thus, where education was often assigned the function of the 'preservation' and 'transmission' of culture, it is here conceived as an instrument for the infusion of a new culture and for the creation of a radically different society. Where once a major function of education was to confer individual economic benefits and social mobility to a privileged minority, it is now regarded as a prime agency for promoting the interests of the 'masses'.

The main features of the new educational policy that emerge from the foregoing conception of the rôle of education are twofold. First, great emphasis is placed on mass education. This is necessary in order to reverse the past uneven pattern of distribution of educational opportunity which *inter alia* favoured the urban centres at the expense of the vast rural sector. The second main feature is the much greater emphasis placed on nonformal and adult education, which is a natural response to the challenge of mass education taken up by the Nation.

Efforts have been made over the past seven years to recast the inherited system of education, priority being given to reorganization of the formal educational sector.

One feature of the formal educational system of the pre-revolution period was the increase of numbers of private schools in the urban areas. In the city of Addis Ababa in particular, private elementary schools were gradually becoming profit-making ventures. There was also an almost total absence of popular participation in the management of either the public or private schools. Consistent with the philosophy of socialism, one of the first acts of the PMAC was to issue a proclamation transferring private schools to public ownership and management. This measure, however, had little effect on the rural sector, where private schools were practically non-existent.

However, the *Proclamation to Provide for the Administration and Control of Schools by the People* (1976) affected the rural sector, since it transferred the responsibility for internal administration of elementary and secondary schools

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to the elected representatives of the people. The earlier proclamation excluded mission and foreign community schools. The main responsibility for the management of schools was vested in a School Committee consisting of representatives of peasant associations, urban-dwellers' associations, a representative of teachers, and in the case of secondary schools, a representative of students as well. The duties of the Committee were listed as follows (PMAC, 1976b):

1. to supervise generally the running of the school in accordance with the directives issued by the Minister;
2. to advise and assist the school to reflect in its programmes the culture of the people;
3. to supervise generally the government subsidy or budget allotted to the school through the Ministry, ascertain its effective implementation;
4. to encourage each school to create its own income; to co-ordinate the people to create the income of the school and control such income;
5. to encourage the village handicraftsmen to disseminate their skills;
6. to supervise the administration of the school property;
7. to co-ordinate the school and village with a view to ensuring that education is not confined to the classroom and that it is integrated with practice;
8. to ensure the upkeep of the school;
9. to expand the school; employ teachers and other workers using the government subsidy or any other income obtained and discharge same;
10. to remove any obstacles which obstruct the better carrying-out of its objectives;
11. to carry out any other activities connected with its objectives in accordance with the directives given by the Ministry, urban dwellers' associations and peasant associations.

The aspect of organizational change that is of particular interest here is the provision for participation of the people in the control and management of elementary and secondary schools. It is clear that participation is understood not only as the means of ensuring democratic administration of schools, but also as the mechanism by which the resources needed for their management and expansion can be provided by the people themselves. Here then is an important example of application of the 'enabling strategy' of development. It is not difficult to appreciate that the aim of mass education can be realized only through such a strategy. It is also important to note that if education is regarded as a catalytic agent for institutional change in the rural and urban areas as a whole, its own development must in turn be accelerated by introducing institutional alterations. Institutional development and educational expansion can therefore be understood as interdependent elements in the comprehensive approach of national and rural development in Ethiopia.

77 BEST COPY AVAILABLE

4. The problem of integration of education on the national level

The realization of the long-term aims of education explained in the last section will depend most critically on the effectiveness of educational planning. The qualitative changes and the quantitative expansion of education envisaged will call for elaborate planning at many levels. From the point of view of this study, educational planning assumes great importance, for the problem of 'integration' of education in national and rural development is seen fundamentally as a problem of planning. This will become quite evident from the discussions that follow.

The emerging system of national development planning

National development planning was introduced in Ethiopia in the late 1950s. The designations of Planning Board, Planning Commissions and Planning Ministry were all used at one time or another to refer to the central planning organ. However, little effctive planning was done. The central planning organ was more or less separate from the operating Ministries and Agencies and had little control over their activities. It can be said that planning then essentially consisted of the preparation of 'plan' documents at the centre. There was an understanding that planning units would be established in the various Ministries, but even where such units were established, few cases of successful planning occurred.

The beginnings of participation in planning on the part of the Ministries and Agencies were observed during the preparation of the fourth five-year plan, which was never produced because of the revolutionary changes in the country. A new system of national development planning is in the process of being introduced in Ethiopia today, and planning in the educational sector, as in all other sectors, is expected to proceed according to this new comprehensive system. Consistent with its Socialist philosophy, Ethiopia today regards central planning as a fundamental instrument for the achievement of national development goals and for the management and control of economic activities. Its scope was defined by the National Revolutionary Development Campaign and Central Planning Supreme Council Proclamation of 1978. As explained above, the Campaign was launched to deal with some of the pressing economic problems faced by the Nation following the Revolution.

The NRDC-CPSC Proclamation deals mainly with a description of the all-encompassing hierarchical structure created for the purpose of carrying out national development planning. Nearly all the main Government institutions, including the Military, the Police and the mass organizations, are represented in the mammoth Central Congress of the Supreme Council, at the head of which is the Chairman of the PMAC. The Congress has a high-level Executive Committee, again chaired by the PMAC Chairman. The Supreme Council is supported by a secretariat which constitutes the central planning organ. A

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more-or-less similar arrangement is provided for hierarchially at Regional, *Awraja* (Sub-Regional) and *Wereda* (District) levels. Since the latter is closest to rural communities, it would be desirable to take a closer look at its structure and functions. The quotations in this Section are all from the Proclamation (PMAC, 1978).

The *Wereda* congress has the following membership:

'1. The *Wereda* Administrator, Chairman,
2. A representative of each Ministry in the *Wereda*,
3. A representative of the Political and Information Affairs Unit of the Supreme Council,
4. The Chief of the *Wereda* Police,
5. The Town Officer of the *Wereda* Town,
6. The Chairman of the *Wereda* Peasant Association,
7. A representative of the All-Ethiopia Trade Union in the *Wereda*,
8. A representative of the *Wereda* Women's Association,
9. A representative of the *Wereda* Youth Association,
10. The Chairman of each Peasant Association in the *Wereda*'.

The *Wereda* Executive Committee consists of the first five listed above and a representative of any mass organization that is invited by the Committee.

The main functions of the *Wereda* Congress listed in the Proclamation are the following:

'a) to agitate and mobilize the financial, material and human resources in the *Wereda* for the implementation of the development campaign and the plan;
b) to advise the *Wereda* Development Campaign and Planning Executive Committee on ways of solving the problems affecting the implementation of the development campaign and the plan;
c) to decide on any other related matter submitted to it by the *Wereda* Development Campaign and Planning Executive Committee.'

The more detailed functions belong to the Executive Committee and include the following:

'1. to ensure the proper implementation of the development campaign and the plan in the *Wereda*;
2. to solve any problem that obstructs the implementation of the development campaign and the plan in the *Wereda*;
3. to submit reports from time to time, concerning the development campaign and the plan to the *Wereda* Development Campaign and Planning Congress and the *Awraja* Development Campaign and Planning Executive Committee;
4. to prepare and implement programmes which will enable the broad masses to participate in the execution of the development campaign;
5. to endeavour that the peasants acquire the inputs necessary to increase production, and ensure that their products reach the market in time;
6. to ensure that peasants, workers and other working people discharge their functions in due time;
7. to ensure that the national resources in the *Wereda* get the necessary care;
8. to encourage and follow up the development of animal husbandry;

79 BEST COPY AVAILABLE

9. to encourage and assist the formation and strengthening of peasant associations;
10. to prepare agenda for the *Wereda* Development Campaign and Planning Congress;
11. to discharge other duties that are transmitted to it from the *Awraja* Development Campaign and Planning Executive Committee.'

The planning bodies at the different levels are linked by a chain of command, the *Wereda* planning bodies being responsible to those established on the *Awraja* level, which in turn are responsible to the Regional bodies. Since the lowest units consist of the bodies representing the basic mass organizations, the Executive Committees of the basic Peasant Association units are responsible to the *Wereda* Executive Committee and are charged with the following responsibilities:

'1. to agitate the peasant to till and sow, to care for and collect his crop in time, to increase production and to produce on the basis of the country's needs;
2. to endeavour that the peasant gets improved farm implements, fertilizers, better seeds and the like, and to encourage the peasant to make better barns;
3. to detain any person that obstructs the implementation of the development campaign and the plan and to immediately report the same to the *Wereda* Development Campaign and Planning Executive Committee;
4. to ensure that the products of the farmer reach the market in time and undefiled;
5. to study the problems of the peasant and to identify solutions therefor; and to recommend to the *Wereda* Development Campaign and Planning Executive Committee that assistance be given to the peasant;
6. to ensure that the directives and orders given by the *Wereda* Development Campaign and Planning Executive Committee are executed.'

A number of aspects of the new planning system need to be noted. First, the planning system is one in which decisions made at higher levels of the hierarchy are binding at lower levels. The system, in other words, represents planning of a 'directive' rather than of an 'indicative' nature. This is consistent with the Socialist approach to planning and is considered particularly useful because of the campaign nature of current planning.

The second aspect of the system that needs to be noted is the emphasis on participatory planning. As explained above, nearly every important Governmental and popular organization is represented in the planning system. This does not mean that each of these is directly involved in actual plan formulation and implementation, but that it becomes the duty of each to support the implementation of plan decisions. For instance, among the functions of the Congress members at the various levels, are the following:

'a) publicize and transmit accurately reports and directives decided upon by the Congress to his respective organization or association as the case may be; and
b) ensure that his organization or association gives all the necessary support and co-operation for the implementation of the development campaign and the plan.'

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This then not only tends to promote the participatory approach of planning but may also stimulate the development of 'plan-mindedness'.

A third aspect to be noted is the comprehensiveness of the planning system. Planning is rgarded as the basic instrument of co-ordination and control of economic, social, political, and institutional change. It is, in other words, an initial instrument for the realization of the aims of the 'democratic revolution'.

The need for strengthening educational planning in Ethiopia

The Ethiopian educational system had its share of critical examination in the pre-1974 period. It was, however, only after 1974 that the basic conditions for effectively recasting the educational system were fulfilled. Among these is the implementation of the Proclamation of Rural Lands which eliminated agricultural tenancy among the vast rural population and opened up possibilities for participation in the educational system. And as mentioned above, the new mass organizations have begun to serve as instruments for promoting education in the rural sector. However, the 'educational planning' system, together with the national development planning generally, is yet in the process of being shaped.

Great faith seems to be placed on the outcomes of education. Yet, experience shows that its unplanned expansion can lead to serious economic, social, and political difficulties. Many nations around the world are facing the danger of frustrating the hopes of millions of their peoples, for often conditions of life have changed little as a result of participation in education. The only effective way of dealing with this problem is to integrate education effectively with development, i.e. *inter alia* to strengthen educational planning.

The present state of educational development planning

As explained above, the educational sector is represented in the planning structure provided by the NRDC-CPSC. During the years of Campaign planning all Ministries, including the Ministry of Education, have been required to elaborate and submit annual plans based on general guidelines provided from the centre. The National plan consisting of all sectoral plans, once approved, is implemented by the Governmental and mass organizations concerned.

However, the effectiveness of the planning done in the various sectors depends on the planning capacities of the Ministries and Agencies and of the co-ordinating bodies established in the various regions. At present, it seems that sectoral planning depends heavily on the work done at the Head Offices of the Ministries and the secretariat of NRDC-CPSC.

In almost all Ministries, the institutional and technical bases of planning leave much to be desired below the central levels. The Ministerial representatives in the various regions have inherited little planning experience. The regional arms of the Central Government, which are formally responsible to the Ministry of Interior, were organized by the former régime to perform the traditional functions of public administration and political control rather than

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the function of planning. Only very recently have they come to be responsible for socio-economic development in the various regions. As one goes down the hierarchy to the *Wereda* level, Governmental units tend to be staffed by a few individuals concerned about matters of public administration or implementation of decisions taken at higher levels.

The Ministry of Education has a Planning Services unit at Headquarters in Addis Ababa which has recently been active in endeavouring to reshape the educational system according to the requirements of the Socialist philosophy. Planning functions are also formally assigned to Education Offices in the Regions and Sub-Regions of the country. Though the main burden of planning seems to fall on the unit at Headquarters, this does not mean that participation in planning is absent at the lower levels. Annual work plans are prepared at Regional, Sub-Regional and even school levels. Also at the grass-roots level, the peasant associations and urban-dwellers' associations have had to undertake a degree of planning in relation to the National Literacy Campaign. Initiatives have also been taken by various communities to build schools or to expand existing ones. However, the planning done at the lower levels tends to be generally of a short-term nature.

In addition to the Planning Services Department of the Ministry, there is also currently another structure responsible for the planning and co-ordination of the National Literacy Campaign. The Campaign structure has been established down to the basic peasant and urban-dwellers' association levels. Once the directives are worked out at the centre and are communicated down the hierarchy, it becomes the responsibility of all organs concerned to support their implementation. The difficult task of mobilization of the people for participation in the literacy programme, the provision of the necessary facilities and supervisory services rests with the basic peasant and urban-dwellers' associations. Even though these basic units are charged primarily with the implementation of the Campaign in the various communities, this responsibility also calls for more participation in planning of a logistical nature than is recognized.

Formal provisions have been made for integration between the two lines of planning, namely the planning of the formal sector and the Literacy Campaign. This aspect will be considered in more detail later. It suffices to say here that the planning system of the Ministry of Education, as indeed those of all other Ministries, needs to be strengthened in order to be able to meet the immense challenge of development ahead.

The main challenges of future development in planning

The requirements for more effective planning have to be met in a number of respects. The main initial challenge which is faced by the Ministry of Education is the qualitative adaptation of education not only to new ideological requirements but also to the conditions and needs of the highly diverse communities of rural Ethiopia. New educational goals and overall strategies have been articulated. The necessary technical and institutional apparatus for translating these

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goals and strategies into effective action has, therefore, to be provided. The problems can be more fully appreciated by a look at the following description of the general educational system that has been proposed for the future (Ministry of Education, 1981). The educational system is:

> '1. to be governed by a general curriculum but adapted to the conditions and needs of specific communities;
> 2. to achieve balanced physical, spiritual and intellectual development and a 'full socialist personality';
> 3. to unite theory with practice in the teaching and learning process; and
> 4. to prepare the participants for further education, for specialized-vocation, on-the-job training or for self-reliance.'

It is not hard to appreciate the planning task implied if the aims of the new education in Ethiopia are to be realized. The task is made more difficult by the fact that it is necessary first to clarify the nature and specify the tempo of future overall economic, social, institutional and technological changes in order to be able to devise the relevant type and rate of expansion of education at various levels. This is of special importance in view of the functional nature of the education that is envisaged.

Another aspect of the challenge of educational planning concerns the number of expected new participants in the educational system. At present the Ministry of Education has offices only up to the level of the *Awraja*. There are no education offices on the *Wereda* levels. The planning task can hardly be shouldered by the peasant or urban-dwellers' associations at the present stage of their development. There are furthermore many areas where peasant associations have so far not been established (Ministry of Agriculture, 1982).

The quantitative aspect of planning is made more serious by the absence of reliable data on population and on the pattern of its distribution. The first national census was still being contemplated in Ethiopia at the time of this writing.[1]

Intersectoral co-ordination of educational and other activities on Regional and Sub-Regional levels is still another dimension of the challenge of planning. Of particular interest here is the integration of educational programmes being operated under the auspices of various organizations. In the case of rural education, for example, there is need to co-ordinate, on the one hand, the activities of various centres which fall under the Ministry of Education, such as the schools, Community Skill-Training Centres and the National Literacy Campaign, and on the other hand, to co-ordinate these with such programmes as the Farm Training Centres and Extension Services operated by the Ministry of Agriculture.

Of course the education sector shares a number of these challenges with

1. The results of the first census were issued in late 1984. Ethiopia's population is now estimated at over 42 million, more than 10 million over the earlier estimate. The implication of this for educational planning can easily be recognized.

83

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other major sectors, such as Agriculture and Health. As indicated above, a system of planning that supports the 'integrated approach' of development can be said to exist perhaps only at the highest level, where the various Ministries are made to share responsibility for the overall guidelines for National and sectoral development.

The Ministry of Education has not been unaware of the requirements of planning in the future. As one official document puts it (Ministry of Education, 1981):

> 'The planning mechanism faces a number of major challenges, including the following:
> —the decentralization of the planning process required to fulfil the objectives of a rapid progress towards universalization and democratization of education and the development of educational infrastructures and programmes relevant to the needs of localities...
> —the extension of the planning operation into a larger coverage of programme activities and the monitoring of qualitative as well as quantitative change in a system which is developing a variety of new programmes and activities with new objectives and which should achieve a high degree of integration for optimum impact and economy.
> —the strengthening of the manpower aspects of educational planning regarding both the formation, deployment, utilization and upgrading of educational personnel, and also the manpower demand/educational supply aspects of planning.
> —the continued study of those aspects of physical planning which relate to the universalization of educational services in largely rural settings and the democratization of other services where equity in access is a major objective.
> —the rationalization of resource mobilization and utilization from all sources (government, community, external sources, etc.), in the context of scarcity of means relative to needs. Included in this challenge is the need to plan actively for a higher level of self-sufficiency and for the infrastructure and programmes which will promote self-reliance.'

The question of planning will underlie much of the detailed discussion pertaining to integration in subsequent sections; it should be emphasized here that the degree of integration of education in rural development cannot be expected to be greater than the degree of integration that may exist at higher levels.

5. Profile of education in a rural area

The problem of integration of education in rural development has been analysed in greater detail on the community level. It is therefore essential to provide a description of the educational system of the survey community against the background of its socio-economic characteristics, the newly created institutions, and the development infrastructure.

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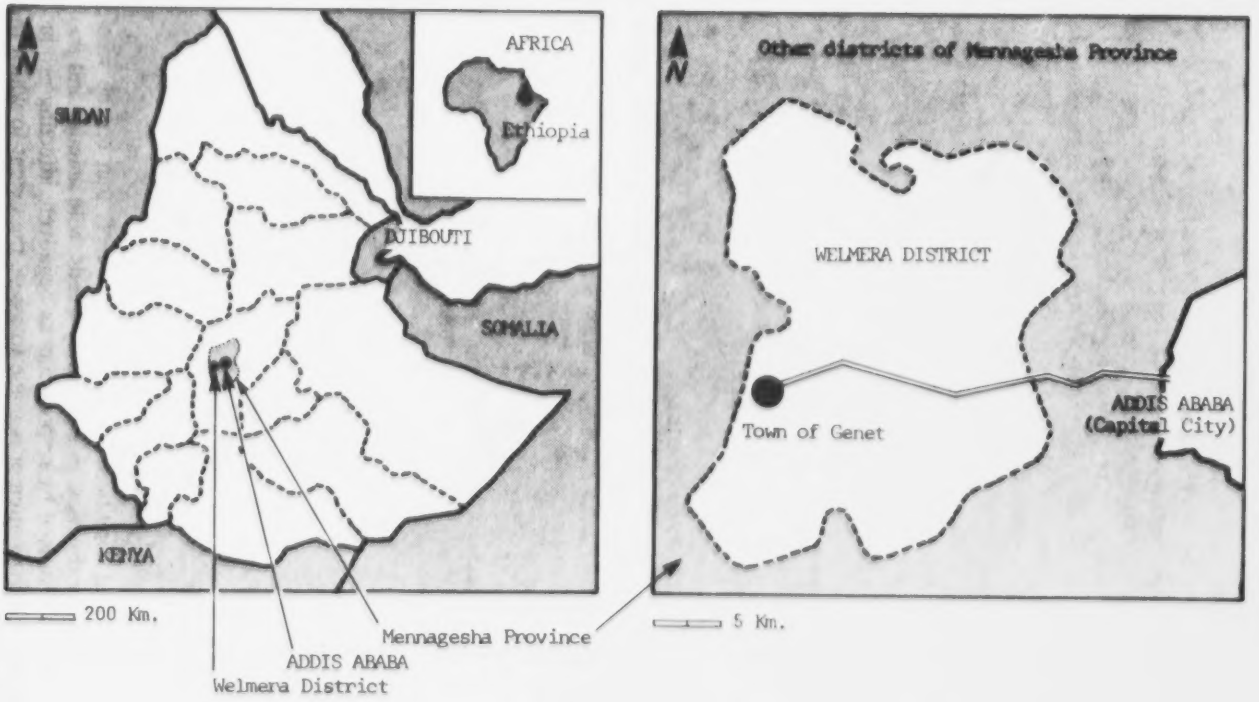

MAP 2. *Location of the study area in Ethiopia.*

Socio-economic characteristics of the survey district

The survey area, Welmera *Wereda* or District, is located due west of Addis Ababa. The principal town, Genet (also known as Holeta), is at a distance of about 44 km. on the Addis Ababa-Jimma road. In spite of the proximity of the area to Addis Ababa, its socio-economic characteristics do not differ much from what is found in many parts of Shewa Region. The area of the *Wereda* is estimated to be about 420 sq. kms. There are no reliable population estimates of the District; the best estimate that could be made places the total population at approximately 80,000 people, of whom about 12,000 are residents of the town of Genet. Map 2 shows the location of the survey area.

The age-distribution of the population shows the familiar pattern characteristic of developing countries generally (Figure 3). According to the findings of the present survey, about 36 per cent of the total population is nine years of age of younger, 59 per cent is nineteen years of age or younger, and about 64 per cent twenty-four years or younger. These figures are almost identical with the findings of the two earlier sample studies undertaken in the area (Kiros and Kidane, 1978; Kiros, 1982).

The crude birth-rate was found to be 51.75 and the crude death-rate 16.82 per thousand, yielding a natural increase of 34.93 or approximately 3.5 per cent *per annum*. This is again identical with the average of the findings of the two earlier studies. It is to be noted that the rate of growth of the population of rural Welmera is much higher than the estimated average rate of growth of 2.5 per cent *per annum* for Ethiopia as a whole.

Nearly all of the population of rural Welmera is engaged primarily in food-grain production on a subsistence level. About 40 per cent of the respondents indicated that they consumed their entire food-grain production, and 30 per cent consumed three-quarters. However, vegetable production for the market is gaining ground as a secondary occupation in a few areas, while livestock is also generally considered as a secondary occupation.

The technology of grain production is typical of the highland regions of the country. Ploughing is done by the use of oxen, harnessed to a yoke and plough-beam to which is attached the metal-tip or plough. Planting, weeding, harvesting, and other production activities are highly labour-intensive, and are carried out by members of the household according to a traditional pattern of division of labour which includes children.

Because of the varied agro-ecological conditions, the types of grain produced and the volumes of production vary in the different parts of the area. Teff *(Eragrostis tef)*, which is a major national staple, is grown in many parts of the District. Other main crops include wheat, barley, beans, and field peas.

The problems faced in food-grain production are varied, reflecting again the different agro-ecological conditions. It appears, however, that on the whole climatic problems, plant diseases, infestation by weeds, wild animals and poor soil, in that order, are ranked by respondents as negatively affecting production. Later in this study an attempt is made to assess the extent to which the

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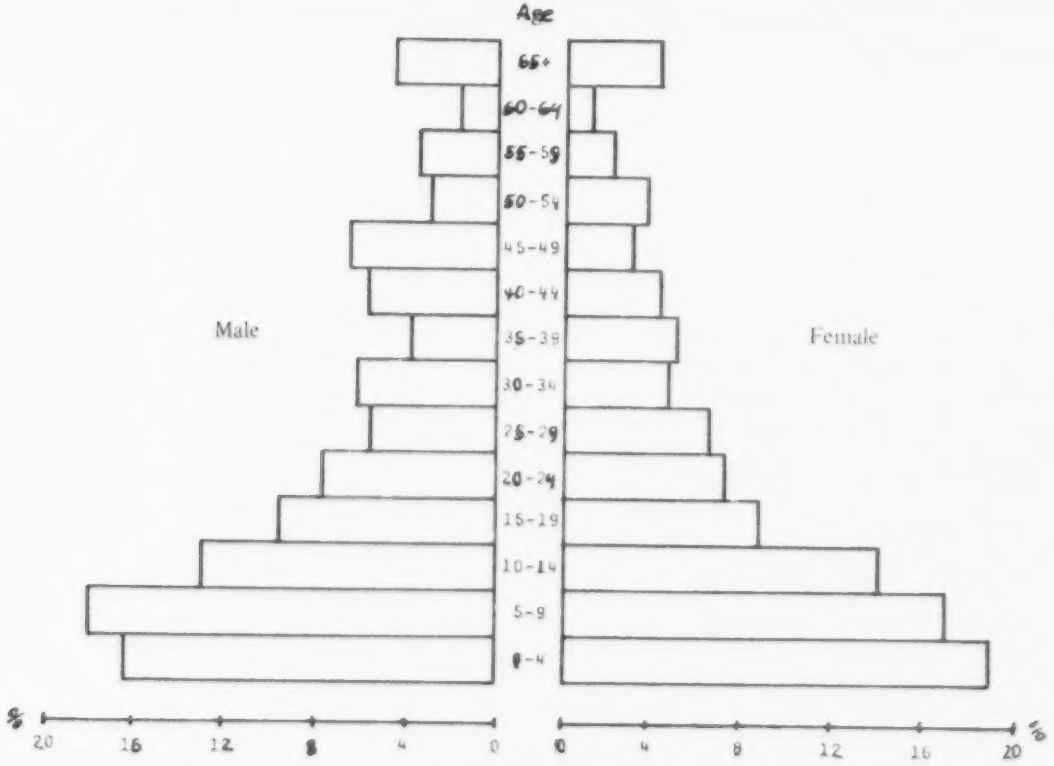

FIGURE 3. *Percent distribution of the population of Welmera Wereda based on average of findings of the present survey and those of 1978 and 1981.*

extension services in the area have been able to respond to problems of concern to the peasantry.

Estimates of production and income are difficult to make in rural Ethiopia. Attempts have, however, been made to estimate the average 'household gross income' in Welmera. The findings varied widely between the particular areas included in the survey. The average for all peasant associations and producer co-operatives covered in the survey came to about US$ 211 per annuum. There is unfortunately little basis for interpreting this figure in terms of the standard of living. The present finding is higher than that of 1977/78 and lower than that of 1979/80, reflecting in part the problem of obtaining reliable data on household income and in part the differences between the various areas surveyed.

Thus, other indicators of the standard of living had to be sought in order to better appreciate the conditions of life of the rural population of Welmera. One indicator was found by asking the peasants to make an assessment of total production in relation to consumption requirements. Significant proportions of the respondents indicated that their production was less than enough. Another indication was the extent of, and reasons for, borrowing money. Again some of the respondents indicated that they had to borrow money during the year preceding the survey, the purpose of which in some cases was to purchase food.

An attempt was also made to make an indirect assessment of overall health conditions in the community. The findings indicate that the population is exposed to health hazards from different sources. These aspects will be considered in more detail later.

The institutional infrastructure of the district

In the following pages an attempt will be made to provide a general picture of the prevailing institutional system of Welmera District. First, a brief description of the overall administrative set-up as well as of the development-related institutions will be made. Secondly, the present institutional arrangements of land cultivation and the envisaged process of future development will be described.

The overall public administration and economic management infrastructure

As explained earlier, at the time of this study a dominant national institutional structure in Ethiopia, which is superimposed on the traditional Ministerial and Regional administrative system, consists of the National Revolutionary Development Campaign and Central Planning Supreme Council (NRDC-CPSC) established at the national, regional, sub-regional and district levels.

The structure in effect in Welmera is similar to those of all *Wereda* structures, i.e. the main organs are the Welmera *Wereda* Development Campaign and Planning Congress and the Development Campaign and Planning Executive Committee, both of which function under the Chairmanship of the *Wereda* Administrator, who formally is responsible to the Ministry of Interior. The

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membership, powers and duties of the Congress and the Executive Committee correspond to the legal prescriptions presented earlier.

Numerous sub-committees have formally been set up to assist in discharging the responsibilities of the Executive Committee, grouped under Social Services, Agriculture, Industry, Trade, Communication and Transportation, and Culture. In practice, the developmental functions of the Executive Committee have consisted mainly of the implementation of decisions passed down to it through the Regional and Sub-Regional offices in Addis Ababa.

From the point of view of the present study, two general comments may be appropriate in connection with the overall structure outlined above. The first comment is that what exists in Welmera District today is not necessarily a permanent overall public administration and economic management structure. As explained above, the entire NRDC-CPSC structure has been created for the primary purpose of carrying out a National Campaign for the rehabilitation of the ravaged economy. The second point that needs to be made is that the present structure is of interest because it attempts to unify the traditional public administration system with sectoral Government establishments as well as with the newly created mass organizations. In the past, a basic problem in Ethiopia in this connection was the relative independence of the representatives of the various Ministries and Agencies from the Regional administrative set-up, which made regional co-ordination of development activities difficult. It would be of interest to discover the extent to which the new formal organizational integration has promoted integration of the more substantive aspects of programme development and implementation as well as the degree to which participation of the population has been engendered in rural development endeavours.

The development-related institutions in the district

Among the institutions performing developmental functions in the various Districts, two types must be distinguished. The first type consists of those institutions whose responsibilities are national in scope, and the second of those whose responsibilities are restricted to the *Wereda* alone.

The following main institutions which possess national responsibilities are located at Genet:

1. Institute of Agricultural Research (IAR)
2. Holeta Farm-Training Centre
3. Holeta Bee-Breeding Centre
4. Holeta Dairy-Farm Centre.

IAR is a major national institution which conducts research on various aspects of agriculture. The Institute is reasonably well staffed with high-level researchers, and possesses modern research facilities. It also conducts what are referred to as 'outreach programmes', the main purpose of which is to make research findings available to the surrounding peasantry.

The Holeta Farm-Training Centre is one of several to be found in the country. It conducts short-term training programmes for peasants selected by

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their communities, as well as for agricultural development cadres with secondary-level education. It is reported that a good number of peasants from Welmera have participated in the programme and are assumed to be giving service to their communities based on the knowledge that they have acquired. An effort has therefore been made in this study to locate some of these participants so as to be able to assess the outcome of the training that they received.

The Bee-Breeding Centre is reported to be the only one of its kind in the country. Its primary functions are to train peasants in order that they may in turn train other peasants in the communities, and to conduct research. The training on this subject is provided as part of the programme conducted by the Farm-Training Centre.

The Holeta Dairy-Farm centre is an enterprise involved in milk production mainly to supply the Addis Ababa market, and is a branch of the Dairy-Development Agency located in the capital. It has little interaction with the peasant community of Welmera.

The main institution with local development responsibility from the point of view of this study is the Representative Office of the Ministry of Agriculture which has responsibility for extension services in the area. It is staffed with a limited number of development and political cadres who often perform their activities as a team. However, it has no branch centres and is oriented toward the promotion of producers' co-operatives. The activities of the Office and its relationships with the peasantry are of central importance in the present study.

Another unit that may be of some interest is the Holeta clinic, which was reported to be the only one of its kind in the entire *wereda*. The Ministry of Health is represented by the staff of the clinic, which consists of three health assistants.

It can readily be recognized from the above outline that major development Ministries are not well represented in Welmera *Wereda*. The most outstanding example is the Ministry of Education. Most of the Ministries are however represented on the *Awraja* (Sub-Regional) level.

Recent institutional developments in land cultivation

Prior to the 1975 Proclamation of Rural Lands, the majority of the peasants of Welmera were tenant-cultivators. It is assumed therefore that the large majority stand to benefit from this Proclamation.

Today, all the cultivators are members of peasant associations, of which there are 54 in the *Wereda*. As can be seen from Table 1, membership of the peasant associations varies widely, ranging from a low of 114 in Haro-Boki to a high of 447 in Sokoro-Golelie. This implies a highly varied population density, since by law peasant associations are to be established to cover an estimated area of 800 hectares.

Nearly all peasant associations have become members of service co-operatives. The nine service co-operatives correspond to the nine zones into which rural Welmera has been divided for administrative reasons. The numbers of

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TABLE 1. The peasant associations, service co-operatives and nascent producers' co-operatives of Welmera

Zone and service co-operative	No. of peasant associations (*Tinsu co-ops)	No. of members (households)		*Tinsu* production co-operatives No. of members
1. Telecho	8			
	Buko-Samie	209		
	Dufa	227		
	Fiota-Mintilie	205		
	Ilu-Berga	236		
	Lencha-Telecho	217		
	Ogota	209		
	Rob-Gebeya	244		
	Ulu-Silassie	248	1 795	
2. Welmera	6			
	Bosokie	244		
	Haro-Boki	114		
	Ilala-Gojo*	263		47
	Ada-Ilu	245		
	Welmera-Choki*	242		53
	Welmera-Goro*	164	1 272	56
3. Genet-Zuria	3			
	Bekeka-Korie-Odo	248		
	Gelgel	280		
	Shola-Genet	148	676	
4. Wajitu	4			
	Dewana-Tebel*	139		15
	Harbu-Bishoftu	172		
	Laftu-Waji*	132		3
	Wajitu-Fichie	139	582	
5. Hamus-Gebeya	7			
	Dilu-Tulu-Hora	169		
	Falie-Goru	159		
	Hidi-Idil-Ber	229		
	Inslal	204		
	Kumbi-Tulu-Rada	206		
	Wajitu-Tulu-Jobi	159		
	Wajitu-Wato-Dalecha	249	1 375	
6. Kersa	5			
	Bujumbul	216		
	Byo	240		
	Golie	256		
	Liben	254		
	Suba 1	142	1 110	

[continued

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TABLE 1 *(continued)*.

Zone and service co-operative	No. of peasant associations (*Tinsis co-ops)	No. of members (households)		*Tinsis* production co-operatives No. of members
7. Suba	6			
	Geresu 1	155		
	Geresu 2	147		
	Kawo	221		
	Kumburie	207		
	Nuro-Tera	258		
	Suba 2	144	1 132	
8. Berfeta	7			
	Guntuta	224		
	Markos*	384		96
	Misrak*	236		101
	Oborsa	250		
	Rogie	442		
	Sademo	186		
	Wechecha	197	1 919	
9. Bedi	8			
	Awaso-Bedi	352		
	Menagesha-Kolobo	313		
	Minjaro	329		
	Simbrit-Korie	252		
	Simbrit-Kotu	265		
	Sokoru-Adileti	303		
	Sokoru-Golelie	447		
	Weta-Becha	341	2 602	
Total	54		12 463	

SOURCE: Records of Representative of Office of Ministry of Agriculture, Genet.

members of the service co-operatives, both in terms of peasant associations and households, again vary widely. Thus, Bedi and Telecho service co-operatives have eight peasant associations each as their members, whereas Genet-Zuria has only three members. Bedi service co-operative serves the largest number of households, 2,602, while Wajitu provides service to only 582 households.

The most outstanding rôle of the peasant associations has so far been to serve as instruments for the mobilization of the peasantry for various national causes as well as for local development purposes. The service co-operatives have concentrated their efforts on the establishment and operation of co-operative shops, mainly for the purpose of distribution of consumer manufactures such as soap, matches, cooking oil, kerosene, etc. to the peasantry.

In Welmera today, there are seven *tinsis* agricultural producers' co-operatives, or co-operatives which have taken the initial step of pooling the land for communal cultivation but which have yet to fulfil all legal requirements in

BEST COPY AVAILABLE 92

order to be registered as *malbas*. Thus, the vast majority of the peasants in the *Wereda* continue to cultivate the land on an individual basis. The peasants, however, are none the less being pulled toward communal endeavours and the present institutional arrangements provide ample apportunity for mass participation and for the mobilization of the peasantry for rural development.

Education in the survey district

Formal education

As stated, the Ministry of Education does not have an office in Welmera, but school principals, appointed by the Ministry of Education, are also responsible to locally established School committees.

There were 14 schools in Welmera at the time of the survey. Most were essentially rural elementary schools, some of which provide less than six years of education. The only senior-secondary school in the area is in the town of Genet; it also has the largest number of elementary students (Table 2). Those schools located in small towns also serve the surrounding rural areas.

TABLE 2. The schools of Welmera district

School	Location (zone)	Grades covered
1. Yekatit 25 Elementary and Comprehensive Secondary School	Genet[1]	1-12
2. Genet 44	Genet	1-6
3. Genet-Finland (Galie)	Genet-Zuria	1-6
4. Hamus-Gebeya	Hamus-Gebeya	1-5
5. Meta-Jara	Kersa	1-6
6. Telecho	Telecho	1-4
7. Suba	Suba	1-6
8. Aba Wolde-Mariam	Berfeta	1-8
9. Oborsa	Berfeta	1-4
10. Bedi	Bedi	1-5
11. Ethio-Yugoslav	Bedi	1-6
12. Menagesha-Kolobo[2]	Bedi	1-8
13. Welmera-Finland	Welmera	1-6
14. Wajitu	Wajitu	1-3

SOURCE: School survey, March 1982. 1. Town, estimated population 12,000. 2. Town, estimated population 2,400.

The total number of children enrolled in 1981/82 in all the elementary schools was reported to be 5,316, of which 3,216 (about 60 per cent) were male and 2,100 female. Assuming that around 15 per cent of the population of the District falls in the elementary-school age-group, total enrolment constitutes about 44 per cent of that category of the population. This figure is lower than the participation rate of 57.8 per cent for Shewa Region excluding Addis Ababa.

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Of the 14 schools found in Welmera, two are located in Genet, the main town in the *Wereda*. These are Yekatit 25 and Genet 44 schools. A third school, Menagesha-Kolobo, is also found on a small road-side town of the same name. These schools serve both the residents of the respective towns and the surrounding rural population. Thus, about 80 per cent of the pupils of the elementary section of Yekatit 25 school were said to come from the town of Genet. Of the total enrolment of Genet 44 school, 95 per cent are residents of the town; and about 60 per cent of the pupils of Menagesha-Kolobo are town children. Also 50 per cent of the enrolment of Genet-Finland School, which is located close to Genet, are from that town. However about 80 per cent of the enrolment of the secondary section of Yekatit 25 School consists of students from the rural area, since the school has the only senior-secondary section in the *Wereda*.

The findings indicate that the distribution of enrolment is biased in favour of the towns. While about 68 per cent of the town population in the age-range 10-24 attended schools, the corresponding figure for the country population is only about 21 per cent. It must be noted that the distribution of educational opportunity is also not even within the rural communities. Those areas around the towns and those close to the country schools are more privileged than the others. As the number of schools in the district is small, this means that a few peasant-association areas have better access to schools than most. For instance, about 75 per cent of the enrolment of Aba Wolde-Mariam School consists of children who come from the two adjacent peasant associations—Rogie and Guntuta.

As shown above, roughly 40 per cent of the total enrolment of Welmera schools consists of girls. Generally speaking, the enrolment of girls in elementary schools matches that of boys where the schools are located in or near the towns, but tends to be much lower in the country schools. Also, the farther the location of a school from the main road crossing the *Wereda*, the lower the enrolment of girls. The enrolment of girls in Yekatit 25 Comprehensive Secondary School was identical with that of boys in 1981/82. However, enrolment of girls in the junior-secondary schools in the country is much lower than that of boys. Thus the disparity seems to be the result of the low level of enrolment of girls in the country schools. The contrast is striking in some cases.

The organization and management of the schools as well as their place in the community can better be appreciated by way of case studies. Two rural schools have been selected for such a close examination. The selection was made at random, i.e. Welmera-Finland Elementary School and Aba Wolde-Mariam and Imahoy Debritu Elementary and Junior-Secondary School.

Welmera-Finland was established by the Finnish Mission prior to the Revolution. It is now a public school administered in accordance with the provisions of the Proclamation to Provide for the Administration and Control of Schools by the People (No. 103). There is little to distinguish this school from any other rural school.

Aba Wolde-Mariam and Imahoy Debritu School bears the names of a couple

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who donated the land on which the school was built in the pre-revolution period. It was initially supported by the Ethiopian Orthodox Church which still provides financial assistance, but it is now operated as a public school.

Both schools have their main formal links with the *Awraja* (Sub-Regional Menagesha) Office of the Ministry of Education located in Addis Ababa. Both schools have School committees established in accordance with the requirements of Proclamation 103, which are chaired by laymen elected from among the members of the peasant associations in the areas where the schools are located. The activities of the Committees are of particular interest to this study.

The principals of the two schools were asked to explain the extent of implementation of the specific responsibilities legally assigned to the School Committees by Proclamation 103. The responses obtained are summarized below.

(a) *School supervision*. The members of the Committees were said to lack sufficient competence to undertake effective supervision of the schools, more so as regards supervision of the teaching programme. The main weakness was reported to be lack of the appropriate level of education and experience in school matters.

(b) *Reflection of the culture of the community in school programmes*. The School Committees are legally charged with this responsibility, but it was found that no serious effort had been made either by the Committee or the principals. A few motivated teachers have from time to time made some endeavours in this direction.

(c) *Supervision of budget allotted by the Ministry of Education*. The financial aspects of the school management are relatively simple. In the case of Welmera-Finland, the Ministry of Education directly pays the salaries of the Principal, 8 teachers and 2 guards. In the case of Aba Wolde-Mariam, it pays the salaries of 4 teachers, those of 6 teachers being paid by the Ethiopian Orthodox Church. Books are supplied by the Ministry of Education to Welmera-Finland to be rented to pupils. Aba Wolde-Mariam purchases the books to be rented to its pupils. The principals therefore explained that there was little necessity for budgetary supervision on the part of the Committees.

(d) *Encouragement of schools to create income*. There had been no initiative on the part of Committees in this matter, but they had favourably considered initiatives when they came from the school principals.

(e) *Encouragement to village craftsmen to disseminate their skills*. The Committees have not attempted to implement this provision. The principal of Welmera-Finland reported that the had on his own initiative invited a blacksmith to teach his skills to pupils, but had not been successful.

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(f) *Supervision of school property*. This function was reported to have been carried out to a limited extent, but generally only when the school principals suggested it, or only incidentally.

(g) *The integration of education with practice*. The schools undertake some farm production activities primarily to earn income. Welmera-Finland seems to be the relatively more successful school in this regard. In 1981/82 the estimated value of sales of grain produced by the school was reported to be about US$ 1,700. It was also found that the schoolchildren sometimes assisted producers' co-operatives in the adjacent areas in activities such as harvesting grain. However, there has hardly been any systematic effort to integrate academic education with practice, either by School committees or by school principals.

(h) *Providing for the expansion and up-keep of the schools*. There have been efforts made in the past to expand the schools, based on proposals from the principals. It has been possible to add sections to existing grades. The addition of higher grades calls for approval at higher levels.

The School Committees have been able to mobilize funds from the peasant associations. For instance, in 1982/83 a total of US$ 1,400 is expected by Welmera-Finland School from seven adjacent peasant associations, to be used for the employment of teachers recruited from among the young secondary-school graduates in the communities who are unable to continue post-secondary education. These teachers are paid much less than teachers employed by the Ministry of Education. Contributions by the community through the School Committee have also been made to Aba Wolde-Mariam School when projects requiring funding were proposed by the principal. Here contributions made were mainly for school maintenance. It was reported by the two school principals interviewed that the pressure for contributions had to be exerted by themselves and that it was not always easy to collect the funds committed by the members of the peasant associations.

The main conclusion that emerges from the foregoing examination of the rôle of the School Committees is that they have not been able to carry out many of the functions legally assigned to them. Indeed, it appears as though some of the provisions of Proclamation 103 call for much more than could be expected from the peasantry under present circumstances. However, one is also left with the impression that a well motivated school principal could make it possible for the School Committees to carry out many of their responsibilities and to enable them to contribute effectively to educational development in the rural communities. The school principal might have to accept his rôle as being one of a catalyst under conditions where institutional conditions have rendered the prospects of development quite promising.

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The national literacy campaign in Welmera

The National Literacy Campaign has been in progress in Welmera since it was launched in July 1979; the eleventh round of the Campaign was undertaken in 1984.

The slogan 'participate in learning or teaching' aims at bringing everyone into the Campaign and attendance in Welmera was reported to be very high. Nearly all those able to follow the programme have participated in at least one round of the Campaign (Table 3). Local officials felt that literacy has been achieved by the majority of the population of the *Wereda*, but it was not possible to confirm this by means of the present survey.

The teachers in the Literacy Campaign have been mainly young people. In the beginning, teachers in the formal schools also participated during the long school recess, but more recently, teaching has been done mainly by secondary-school students deployed upon completion of their twelfth-grade national examinations for a period of about three months. During the rest of the year, teaching has depended on the availability of teachers, especially in the rural communities.

Participation in the Literacy Campaign has not been without its problems. The most common one seems to be that the programme competed for time with the usual work that had to be done. Many also expressed a degree of impatience in that they were not yet literate after having participated in several rounds of the Campaign. Such problems are of course to be expected.

The rural communities have contributed financially as well as in kind to the campaign. It was reported that in Welmera, a contribution of Birr 5 (about US$ 2.40) had been made per household per year in the early period of the campaign. The money collected was reported to have been transferred to the central authorities for use according to priorities. It was reported by the *Awraja* Office of the Ministry of Education that in Menagesha *Awraja* a total of the equivalent of about US$ 280,000 was collected from the peasants, Government employees and other sources through the seventh Campaign round. More recently, financial contributions have been made as part of support for the overall Development Campaign, including the literacy programme.

It must be remembered that teaching materials are supposed to be provided from the centre. However, it has often become necessary for the teachers to prepare their own, which they have accomplished satisfactorily using materials locally available.

The rural communities have also provided shelter and food for the student-teachers. The value of these contributions should not be underestimated.

(a) *The literacy campaign operations*. The most conspicuous feature of the National Literacy Campaign is the monolithic hierarchical committee structure and uniform *modus operandi*. To describe the formal activities of one basic unit is to describe those of all units in the hierarchy.

At the top of the structure are the National Literacy Campaign Co-ordinating Committee as well as its Executive committee chaired by the Minister of

97 BEST COPY AVAILABLE

TABLE 3. Participation in seven rounds of the national literacy campaign: Welmera *wereda*

Round	Dates	Registered			Dropped out		
		Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
1	8 July 1979–10 October 1979	13 618	14 910	28 528	2 146	2 775	4 923
2	10 November 1979–8 April 1980	4 118	5 652	9 770	901	1 022	1 923
3	8 July 1980–10 October 1980	8 636	11 044	19 680	2 089	2 857	4 946
4	10 November 1980–8 April 1981	6 304	5 975	12 279	1 585	2 091	3 676
5	8 July 1981–10 October 1981	6 416	7 459	13 875	1 663	1 644	3 307
6	10 November 1981–8 April 1982	872	329	1 201	294	119	413
7	1 May 1982–31 August 1982	856	833	1 689	353	464	817

NOTES 1. The figures include those who have registered more than once to achieve literacy, and exclude participants continuing in post-literacy programmes. See Table 4 for post-literacy enrolment figures.

2. The figures for Rounds 1-4 include country and town participants; those of Rounds 5-7 are for the country only.

SOURCE Records of Literacy Campaign Secretary, Welmera, 1982.

Education. Activities at this level are shared by four standing committees, namely those for: (a) Educational Materials Supply and Distribution; (b) Recruitment, Training and Deployment; (c) Information, Supervision, Evaluation and Certification; and (d) Agitation and Assistance Co-ordination. The same structure is replicated at the Regional, *Awraja*, *Wereda*, Peasant or Urban-Dwellers' Association levels. The number of committees established throughout the country is staggering.

At the National, Regional, *Awraja* and *Wereda* levels, membership of the committees consists of representatives of all pertinent Governmental and mass organizations. An example is detailed below (Menagesha, 1982):

Members of Awraja Literacy Campaign Co-ordinating Committee

1. *Awraja* Administrator, Chairman
2. *Awraja* Chief of the Office of Education, Deputy Chairman
3. *Awraja* Development Campaign Political and Propaganda Representative
4. Representative of the Office of Mass Organizations
5. Representative of the Relief and Rehabilitation Commission
6. Representative of All-Ethiopian Trade Unions
7. Representative of Ministry of Urban Development and Housing
8. Chief of the Armed Forces where available
9. Representative of All-Ethiopian Peasant Association
10. Representative of Teachers' Association
11. Representative of Women's Association
12. Representative of Youth Association
13. Representative of Urban-Dwellers' Association
14. Head of *Awraja* Community Skills Training Centre

The four sub-committees of the *Awraja* Co-ordinating Committee are equally extensive in their membership, for example, the composition of the *Awraja* Educational Materials Supply and Distribution Sub-Committee includes representatives from the following (Menagesha, 1982):

1. Ministry of Transport and Communication, Chairman
2. Ministry of Defence
3. Ministry of Interior
4. Police Head Office
5. Ministry of Education
6. All-Ethiopia Peasant Association
7. All-Ethiopia Trade Unions
8. Ministry of Industry
9. Ministry of Agriculture
10. Ministry of State Farms
11. National Development Campaign, Transport Division.

The composition of the committees on the *Wereda* level is also quite broad. The members of the Welmera Literacy Committee and of those in each of the 54 peasant associations in the *Wereda* are listed below (Welmera, 1982):

99 BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Welmera Wereda Membership of Literacy Co-ordinating Committee

1. *Wereda* Administrator, Chairman
2. Principal of Yekatit 25 Comprehensive Secondary School, Secretary
3. Chairman of Teachers' Association
4. Representative of Ministry of Agriculture
5. Representative of the *Wereda* Police
6. Representative of *Wereda* Court
7. Representative of Ministry of Finance
8. Representative of Ministry of Health
9. District Production and Political Cadre
10. District Chairman of Peasant Associations
11. Representative of Women's Association
12. Representative of Youth Association
13. Representative of Trade Unions
14. Officer of Genet Town.

Where no offices of a particular Government Ministry exist, their employees stationed within the District are made to represent them. In Welmera, for instance, the Ministry of Finance is represented by the local treasurer, the Ministry of Health by one of the health assistants of the local clinic, and the Ministry of Justice by the local judge. The idea is to involve as many Governmental and mass organizations as possible in the Literacy Campaign.

Members of Peasant Association Literacy Committees (Welmera, 1982)

1. Chairman of Peasant Association, Chairman
2. School Principal where available, Secretary
3. Representative of Youth Association
4. Representative of Women's Association
5. Two elected members.

It can be seen that the Literacy Campaign Committee at peasant-association level essentially consists of elected representatives of the people, implying that 'implementation' of the Literacy Campaign in rural areas is the responsibility of the people themselves.

The Co-ordinating Committees and the Sub-Committees established at various levels do not have offices of their own. They are usually attached to an existing Governmental office from which they obtain some administrative assistance. In Menagesha *Awraja,* the Office of the Ministry of Education has the administrative responsibility. In the survey *Wereda*, the *Wereda* Administrator's office provides administrative support to the Co-ordinating Committee of which he is Chairman.

The *modus operandi* of the Committee hierarchy is one of devolution of specific tasks from higher to lower levels. Procedures worked out at the centre are followed at the lower levels. The uniformity of the organizational structure is, in other words, matched by uniformity of activities at the various levels. However, the writer, on the basis of personal observation as well as participation in committee work, has come to the conclusion that success in the implementation of the Campaign has often been more dependent on initiative

BEST COPY AVAILABLE 100

and leadership at the grass-roots level than on the structural formalities. Often the local Co-ordinating Committee or a few of its Sub-Committees may be ineffectual, but the Campaign may nevertheless be successfully implemented because a few of the members assume the major burden of responsibility for the Campaign.

(b) *The contents of the literacy programme.* There have been two main phases of the Literacy Campaign, these being the basic-literacy and the post-literacy phases. The first phase naturally focuses on the development of literacy and numeracy skills. Participants are taught to identify and to write the letters of the alphabet, and later to read and write words and sentences. They are also enabled to carry out the four basic arithmetic operations and to solve simple problems.

This first phase of the literacy programme is, however, not without substantive content, since the teaching materials serve the dual purpose of providing reading exercise as well as relevant functional knowledge. In the eighth round of the Campaign, for example, the reading materials prescribed include the following subjects (Ministry of Education, 1982):

—Clean water and its benefits
—Soil and its protection
—Care during pregnancy and childbirth
—Elimination of house pests
—Political education.

Successful completion of the first phase is marked by literacy certification. Those who have not achieved literacy may enrol in the remedial classes in a subsequent round, while those with certificates may continue in the post-literacy programme. The latter permits the new literates to apply their skills and attain a firmer grasp of what they have learned in the first phase. More importantly, however, this phase aims to inculcate extensive functional knowledge and skills. The actual contents tend to vary depending on the needs of the participants; specialized reading is provided for persons employed in industrial establishments or in coffee-growing areas, for example. Generally speaking, the subjects covered in the post-literacy programme include the following (NLC, 1982):

—*Health Education*
Food and health; Communicable diseases and their prevention; Environmental sanitation; Mother and child care; First aid

—*Political Education 1 and 2*
Our Motherland Socialist Ethiopia; Our Revolution; The Commission for Organizing the Party of the Working People of Ethiopia (COPWE); The National Production and Cultural Development Campaign; The Revolutionary Army; Imperialism; etc.

—*Home Economics*
Household income; Vegetable production, poultry; Food preparation and food keeping; Sewing; Kindergartens

101
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—Soil conservation, plant science, herbicides
—Animal husbandry
—Horticulture.

The foregoing list is not exhaustive, and although the reading materials are not always available in sufficient quantities, a perusal of their contents shows that they are in some cases quite detailed. The question that arises is how well participants follow the readings and relate them to their own work and daily living. The ultimate result of this great national investment in professional time and resources depends on the effectiveness of the teaching and learning.

Numerically, participation in the post-literacy programme has been quite high. In Welmera, a good proportion of the newly literate population has enrolled (Table 4). Nor is such attendance the end of education for many people, for there have been participants, generally the relatively young, who have continued their education in the formal educational system. Generally speaking, completion of post-literacy would qualify one for admission in the schools on the third-grade level. It was reported by the principals of the two third-grade schools who were interviewed that enrolment pressure had initially been strong from participants of the post-literacy programme. But the number of applicants has significantly decreased during 1981/82. The two principals felt that this was an indication that the Literacy Campaign required further stimulation.

TABLE 4. Participation in post-literacy programme: Welmera *Wereda*

Round	Registered			Percentage of those registered in primary phase[1]		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
1	—	—	—	—	—	—
2	3 293	2 652	5 945	24	18	21
3	4 731	3 015	7 746	55	27	40
4	2 186	1 568	3 754	35	26	31
5	4 105	2 435	6 540	64	33	47

1. The first row of figures is the percentage of the registration in Round 1; subsequent rows give the percentage of the registration in corresponding Rounds.
SOURCE Records of Literacy Campaign Secretary, Welmera, 1982.

Other nonformal programmes

It may be said that a common function of all rural development institutions is that of education, and this is the case in Welmera. The activities of the Governmental institutions in the *Wereda*, namely those of the Representative Office of the Ministry of Agriculture, the Farm-Training and the Bee-Breeding Centres concentrate on education.

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(a) *Programmes of the Representative Office of the Ministry of Agriculture Extension Service.* In principle, the aspects of agricultural and rural development which should be covered by the extension service include crop production and protection, animal husbandry, peasant organizations, home economics and political education. In fact, however, the *Wereda* lacks the necessary manpower to cover all these areas satisfactorily. It is nevertheless true that the peasantry is being exposed in one degree or another to these various aspects of rural development.

Training was reported to be given to the peasantry in a number of ways. One way has been through periodic talks given to members of peasant associations. Another approach is the training given to members of the executive committees of peasant associations which hold monthly meetings on the *Wereda* level. Still another approach has been the training given once a year to selected members of peasant associations. This latter focuses on particular areas and lasts for about ten days. The number of participants does not, however, exceed one or two from each peasant association. The training given in the agricultural sphere covers the following general areas (Genet, 1982):

—*Crop production*
  (a) Seedbed preparation
  (b) Improved seeds, seed application
  (c) Plant protection
  (d) Fertilizers
  (e) Timely planting, harvesting
—*Livestock*
  (a) Animal diseases
  (b) Vaccination
—*Water and soil conservation*
  (a) Erosion problems
  (b) Soil protection
  (c) Forestry.

It was found that equal attention was given by the extension service to education in areas other than agriculture, the programmes of home economics and peasant organizations being cases in point.

Home economics geared to women is supposed to include the following areas of training (Genet, 1982):

—Mother and child care
—Child spacing
—Appropriate technology including better house-construction, cooking facilities, etc.
—Balanced diet, food storage
—Clothes- and soap-making
—Environmental sanitation, hygiene
—Diversification of sources of income.

The teaching in the area of peasant organization focuses on the promotion of producers' co-operatives. The cadres explain the purposes and advantages of

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producers' co-operatives and the conditions of their formation. This part of the training is politically oriented. It seeks to promote the socialist mode of production, and to eliminate traditional beliefs which tend to hinder increased productivity. An example of the latter is the belief that disaster would result if the peasantry worked on certain Saint's days.

The extension service can be described as one guided by the 'integrated' approach to development, at least at the level of conception. One does not, however, find in Welmera that the concept is applied satisfactorily, owing partly to the shortage of manpower and perhaps more importantly to the absence of clearly-formulated and well-designed programmes of work. If we were for instance to compare what goes on in Welmera with the so-called 'training and visit system', we would find it seriously lacking. The latter consists of an intensive system of training and visits to ensure visible increases of production on the part of a large number of producers (Benor and Harrison, 1977).

(b) *The programmes of the Farm-Training Centre.* As explained, the Farm-Training Centre located at Genet is intended to cover a much wider area than the survey *Wereda.* A good number of the participants have, however, in the past been residents of Welmera. An attempt has been made to locate past participants from the sample communities for the purpose of a follow-up investigation, and the findings are reported later in this study.

The main programmes of the Centre consist of short-term training for peasants and rural women, as well as rural-development agents. The peasants and rural women participate in programmes which last a period of two to three weeks. They are all selected and sent for training by their own communities, one criterion being literacy. Participants are not only expected to practise what they learn but also to teach this to other members of their communities.

The rural-development agents trained by the Centre consist of secondary-school graduates. Their training is of a much higher level and lasts for up to six months. In all cases, participants are provided with room and board during the period of their training.

The programme of the Centre is rather comprehensive and is relatively detailed when assessed in terms of the level of general education of the peasantry. This can be appreciated from the following outline extracted from the training materials used.

—*Plant science*

Plant life; Photosynthesis; Types of plants; Climatology; The function and characteristics of soils; Fertilizers and the application of animal dung, compost; Seed-bed preparation; Improved seeds, planting and seed application

—*Animal production*

Types of animals; Animal husbandry in Ethiopia; Animal products and their uses; Selection and cross-breeding; Feed preparation, feeding of different types of animals; Animal diseases and prevention; Animal sheds; Poultry; Bee-breeding

BEST COPY AVAILABLE 104

—*Mother and child care*
Diet; Hygiene; Protection from disease; Preparation for childbirth; Midwifery; Harmful customs and practices; Common childhood diseases; Vaccination
—*Diet*
Balanced diet (rôle of proteins, carbohydrates, fats, vitamins, minerals, calories); Sources of the different food values; Symptoms of food deficiencies
—*Health*
Diseases, preventive methods; Tuberculosis; Leprosy; Trachoma; Venereal diseases; Sources of diseases; Water; Conditions of dwelling
—*Bookkeeping*
—*Vegetable production*
Aspects of plant science; Management of different types of vegetables (beet roots, carrots, potatoes, onions, cabbages, tomatoes, etc.).

The foregoing does not include all aspects of the training. The extent and depth of coverage depends on the types of participants. For example, the training of rural women emphasizes vegetable production and mother and child care. The training of the male participants (the peasants), on the other hand, is focused more on plant science and animal husbandry, and to a lesser extent on other aspects. The rural-development agents are provided with advanced training which is focused more on agriculture.

(c) *Instruction in bee-breeding*. The Bee-Breeding Centre provides training on this subject to peasants in conjunction with the Farm-Training Centre. It also conducts training programmes for technicians, the purpose being to train individuals who are expected to provide training to the peasantry at large.

It appeared as though participation in this programme is very limited, though the sessions conducted at the Farm-Training Centre for the latter's traineees may have enabled it to gain greater exposure.

In conclusion, it is important to note that the foregoing survey of nonformal education in the agricultural field did not give the impression that programmes are being implemented satisfactorily. As already indicated, the programmes of the Representative Office of the Ministry of Agriculture are lacking in many respects. Those of the Farm-Training Centre are not being implemented continuously, owing to problems of funding and weaknesses in planning and management, and there is little follow-up of the trainees, partly owing to shortage of personnel and vehicles. There seemed furthermore to be little integration among the programmes and sometimes even between elements of the same training programme. These latter aspects will be considered in more detail below.

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6. The problem of integration of education in rural development

The organizational aspect

The two types of organizational structures that exist in Welmera are the Governmental and mass-based structures. This section aims first of all to assess the degree to which integration exists between the various Governmental units, between the two categories of institutions. This is followed by a consideration of the problem of organizational integration in the educational sector and the education-related projects, as well as between these and other development organizations in the survey area.

Organizational relationships between governmental units

The main development-related establishments in Welmera include the following:

—The *Wereda* Administration
—Representative Office of the Ministry of Agriculture
—Institute of Agricultural Research
—Farm-Training Centre
—Bee-Breeding Centre
—Clinic.

Among the basic factors that must be recognized is that the heads of each of these units are formally responsible to the Regional, Sub-Regional or National offices in their respective areas of activity. The *Wereda* Administrator is responsible to the Menagesha *Awraja* Administration which is in turn responsible to the Regional Administration, both located in Addis Ababa. The head of the Representative Office of the Ministry of Agriculture in Welmera is responsible to the Menagesha *Awraja* Office, which in turn is responsible to the Regional Office.

Formally, what we find therefore is a parallel system of hierarchical structures. In the pre-revolution period, one of the basic problems of co-ordination of development activities had resulted precisely from this type of organizational arrangement, for even though the Governor was the highest Government official in a Region, appointed by the Head of State, the representatives of the various Ministries and Agencies in the Regions functioned independently from the regional administration.

Another aspect of the Governmental organization structure that should be noted is the fact that there is no formal linkage between units which have development responsibilities in the same field. Thus, the Representative Office of the Ministry of Agriculture, Farm-Training Centre, the Institute of Agricultural Research and the Bee-Breeding Centre have no formal relationship on the *Wereda* level. There is furthermore no basis for co-ordinating their activities on the *Awraja* level, since only the Representative Office of the Ministry of Agriculture has formal responsibility to that level.

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It should be noted also that the Institute of Agricultural Research was not directly associated with the Ministry of Agriculture at the time of this study. There had been a problem of co-ordination of the activities of IAR and the extension service of the Ministry. Indeed, an entire research project was launched in Welmera itself to see how this particular problem of integration could be overcome.

Emerging development co-ordinating mechanism.

The basic structure that exists today has been inherited from the past. In recent years and especially since 1978 the *Wereda* Administrator, as with Administrators at a higher level, had been able to exercise powers to co-ordinate development activities. These powers stem mainly from the fact that the Administrators are also Chairmen of the Campaign Committees, of which representatives of Government and mass organizations are members. In the effort to overcome some of the urgent development problems faced by the Nation, the Campaign Committees have been given stronger powers than might ordinarily have been the case, and this has also enabled the Administrators to exercise a greater degree of control over the activities of development units.

The memberships of the Congresses and Executive Committes were detailed in Section 4 and include most of the locally available representatives of Ministries and Agencies as well as those of mass organizations. The Campaign structure has therefore provided at least a temporary form of organizational linkage at the local level. It must be noted, however, that not all development agencies in Welmera are represented in the Congress or Executive Committee. Examples of those not represented are the Farm-Training Centre, IAR, and the local bank. It must also be emphasized that while a degree of organizational integration may have been possible among those organizations represented, no direct involvement has been evident in the critical aspects of planning, priority-setting and implementation of the basic sectoral activities, which continue to be prescribed more or less independently by the respective Ministries and Agencies. The various local institutions basically perform their specialized functions according to the specific plans and requirements of their respective headquarters.

Integration of a substantive nature occurs only in connection with the implementation of specific Campaign measures passed down from time to time by the NRDC-CPSC. The relative absence of integration in other respects is evident from the fact that the office of the *Wereda* Administration is too small to support any major regional development planning. The staffing consists of the Administrator, Administrative Secretary, Archivist, Messenger and Guard. As the Administrator pointed out, his office had neither the responsibility nor the capacity to involve itself in the work of the various development-related units in the *Wereda*.

Indeed, it is evident from the type of issues taken up by the Executive Committee that there had been little planning. The records of the meetings were examined to obtain some idea regarding the activities of the Executive

107
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Committee. Over the period 1979/80–1981/82, the items of discussion of the Committee included few items which implied planning or integrated activity.

In conclusion, it may be said that the NRDC-CPSC structure has provided only an initial mechanism for pulling the various Government and mass organizations towards the centre at various levels. This has assisted implementation of the Campaign programmes, but has resulted in little planning, especially at *Wereda* level. Educational planning is conspicuously absent at that level, since there is no education office and the schools are not well represented on the Executive Committee. Effective integration of development activities can, therefore, hardly be expected under these conditions.

Organizational integration among mass organizations

The three types of mass organizations found at *Wereda* level are the peasant, the women's and youth associations. The latter two are established within each peasant-association area so that there would be as many of each of these as peasant associations in the *Wereda*.

Each one of the three mass organizations is organized hierarchically from the basic rural unit up to the national level. As in the case of the Government organizations, the structures are parallel to each other, there being no clear organizational linkage between them. This has not, however, necessarily resulted in unco-ordinated activity at the basic level, for over 90 per cent of past and current office-holders of the women's associations interviewed indicated that their activities were relatively closely planned with their respective peasant associations or producers' co-operative. Also, about 56 per cent indicated that their activities were being closely planned with those of the youth associations in their respective communities. Interestingly, the women indicated that relationship with the *Wereda* Women's Association has not been as close, even though the formal linkage of the basic associations is supposed to be with those at higher levels.

Organizational linkages between governmental establishments and mass organizations

The descriptions provided above have shown that parallel hierarchical arrangements prevail within the sphere of both the Government establishments and the mass organizations. Formally, therefore, linkages between Governmental and mass-based organizations are not clear, but the *Wereda* Administrator, as the highest Government officer at local level, can wield authority over the peasant associations or other mass organizations to the extent that the NRDC-CPSC local Executive Committee permits it. Another Governmental unit which also in practice exercises a good deal of authority over the peasant associations is the Representative Office of the Ministry of Agriculture, particularly in respect of agricultural production and co-operative matters.

An attempt was made to assess the degree of interaction between the mass organizations and the Governmental units found in the survey *Wereda*. According to the reports of past and current office-holders of the peasant

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associations and producers' co-operatives, there has been little interaction with the Governmental establishments. The pattern of responses shows that there has been no more initiative on the part of the Government establishments than by mass organizations in this respect. The only possible exception may be in the case of interaction with mass organizations in the Welmera-Goro area, where they have been found to be somewhat more frequent. This is probably due to the fact that the area is much closer to Genet town than any of the other areas covered by the survey.

The problem of organizational integration of education

It is possible to infer from the above that the educational sector may be no better organizationally integrated with rural development organizations than any of the other sectors. The results of the investigation made in the survey area confirm this state of affairs.

(a) *Organizational integration within the educational sector.* The educational sector proper consists of the local schools and the National Literacy Campaign. The relationships that exist either between the schools themselves or of schools with the Literacy Campaign are hardly satisfactory. Indeed, the local schools have no formal relationship with one another at local level. This has resulted from the fact already mentioned above that there is no *Wereda* office of the Ministry of Education to co-ordinate educational activities or educational planning at that level. Each one of the schools reports directly to the Menagesha *Awraja* Office of the Ministry of Education, located in Addis Ababa. Over 100 schools from 12 *Weredas* report directly to that Office.

An interview with the Head of the Menagesha *Awraja* Educational Office confirmed that the absence of *Wereda* educational co-ordinating offices constitutes one of the most serious impediments to effective administration and planning. The problem is even more serious than may appear, because the *Awraja* Office itself is poorly provided with administrative and planning capacity. The main reason for the absence of a *Awraja* office or for the weak planning capacity of the *Awraja* was reported to be the shortage of financial resources.

The principals of two of the schools studied closely in this study indicated that there had been few working relationships between the schools in the *Wereda*. Apart from the fact that there is no official mechanism for co-ordination and collaboration in carrying out activities, the physical distance of the schools from each other was found to be a serious impediment to interaction among them. Given the absence of any means of regular communication or transportation in the rural communities, the degree of isolation of schools in the countryside can be appreciated. Consider the situation of schools such as Wajitu, which covers only Grades 1-3 and has only one teacher, or that of Meta-Jara Elementary School with two teachers and located far from the main road crossing the *Wereda*. The question of organizational integration as pertains to schools in Welmera hardly bears further discussion.

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(b) *Organizational integration of the schools and the national literacy campaign structure.* The organization of the National Literacy Campaign constitutes another hierarchical structure which runs parallel to the structures described above, and to the formal educational system. At *Awraja* level and above, organizational linkage exists between the two, since officials of the formal system have been made leading members of the literacy committees, and their offices also provide administrative support to the latter. Formally, however, the Literacy Campaign is the responsibility of the hierarchy of literacy committees which as explained above draw their memberships from numerous Governmental and mass organizations. The National Literacy Campaign structure can perhaps be understood as an *ad hoc* structure functioning side by side with the formal educational system.

Of particular interest here is the degree of integration that may exist at *Wereda* and peasant-association levels. As indicated above, the principals of schools, where they exist, should be members of the Literacy Committees of peasant associations. In Welmera there are 54 peasant associations and 11 rural-based schools. This means that the majority of the peasant associations have no school principals on their literacy committees. Thus, the linkage envisaged formally between the schools and the literacy committees turns out to be in practice largely absent.

In the case of the two schools discussed above, there appeared to be a relatively close relationship with the literacy campaign committees in the years immediately following the launching of the Campaign. The teachers and students participated in teaching and the school facilities were used for this purpose. As indicated earlier, many of those who completed the literacy programme as well as their children wished to enrol in the schools. This initial phase was reported to have waned in Welmera. According to the school principals interviewed, the reason may lie in the weakness of the community and *Wereda* level committees rather than anything else.

(c) *The relationship of the education sector with education-related programmes in Welmera.* The results of interviews with the principals of two of the schools and the heads of selected institutions in Welmera show that there are hardly any relationships between the education sector and education-related activities in the area. The school principals and the heads of the education-related institutions pointed out that there were advantages to be gained from closer working relationships of development organizations in the *Wereda.* However, given the prevailing organizational system and the general operating conditions, they could see little prospect for effective integration of their activities.

(d) *Relationship of the schools with other institutions.* The relationships of the schools with other Governmental establishments and with the mass organizations was also assessed. This was done again on the basis of interviews with the principals of Welmera-Finland and Aba Wolde-Mariam Schools. They were found to be few and far between. According to the principals, their schools

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have relatively more frequent relationships with the peasant associations than with any of the Governmental bodies. The School Committees were their main links with the peasant associations. As we shall see below, this link does not necessarily imply interaction with the mass of the peasantry. Indeed it seems that the degree of interaction of mass organizations with the local schools varies according to the information obtained from the former and the interaction they had experienced was far less than that expressed by the principals of the two schools.

The aspect of popular participation

The newly created rural mass organizations are expected to be the main vehicles for enabling the people to participate in rural development. To what extent have these organizations and Governmental service establishments been able to enlist popular participation? What in particular is the extent of interaction of the people and the schools in rural communities?

Interaction of the peasantry with mass organizations

The members of the peasant associations and producer's co-operatives of the survey communities were asked to indicate the degree of their interaction with their respective organizations. Had their elected officials approached them to offer assistance? Had they, the members, taken the initiative to approach their elected leaders for any assistance? These were the general questions asked.

In response to the first question, nearly 75 per cent of the respondents indicated that they were rarely or never approached by their elected leaders. In response to the second question, again nearly 75 per cent indicated that they had rarely or never taken the initiative to approach their elected leaders for any kind of assistance.

The degree of interaction of the peasantry with their organizations was assessed in other ways. Thus, members of the peasant association or producers' co-operative were asked to indicate whether or not they were ever asked to participate in the planning of the activities of their associations. Nearly 75 per cent of the peasants indicated that they were rarely or never asked to do so.

Asked whether the peasants had been requested to participate in the planning of the activities of their service co-operatives, the responses obtained were nearly all negative. This is understandable in that the service co-operative serves several peasant associations and its link with the peasantry is, therefore, mainly through their associations.

It should not be concluded from the foregoing responses that the organizations have had little effect in enabling mass participation. It may be that the individual members do not actively participate in the discussions or that they may not perceive their rôle as being one of influencing decisions that affect the entire community, which are the matters of concern of the peasant associations. It has been found that the leaders of the mass organizations have indeed endeavoured to enlist mass participation.

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According to the past or current office-holders of the peasant associations or producers' co-operatives, participation in communal endeavours is limited, owing to lack of funds for implementing community projects, poor supervision, and lack of organizational know-how, in that order. It would seem that these in part explain the lack of interest. The members of the peasant associations and co-operatives have also expressed similar views when asked about the problems hindering their organizations from providing satisfactory service to the community. Assessed in terms of the circumstances of the mass of the peasantry which have been organized into the associations of small individual producers, the communal endeavours observed should not be considered as all that unsatisfactory. Certainly, a need is apparent for initial investment, financial and technical, as well as educational, to stimulate the enabling strategy to function more effectively.

Interaction of peasantry with governmental establishments

The members of the peasant associations and producers' co-operatives were asked to indicate the extent of their interaction with the various Government establishments in the *Wereda*. Their responses show that interactions are very limited. Nearly 20 per cent indicated that they did not even know about the existence of some of the organizations, and over 50 per cent stated that they were never approached by any of their representatives. Little initiative was reported on the part of the respondents to approach the Governmental institutions for assistance.

The degree of interaction of the Government organizations seemed to be more frequent with the producers' co-operatives and less with the peasant associations, especially those relatively distant from the town of Genet. The former reflects the Government's policy to promote producers' co-operatives, the latter the obvious fact that contact is limited owing to physical distance from the administrative centre of the Government establishments as well as shortage of manpower.

The findings reported above must be assessed on the basis of the fact already stated that some of the Governmental establishments have more than local responsibility, so that their contacts would tend to be diffused. One might still expect that they would have more interaction with the communities where they are established.

Interaction of the peasantry with the schools

The members of the peasant associations, producers' co-operatives and women's associations were asked to indicate the degree of interaction they had with their local schools. The findings show that generally speaking the interactions of the schools with the community are limited. This, however, must be assessed in relation to the fact that the interactions of schools with the communities that they serve are not always frequent even in urban centres where distance is less of a hindrance.

The main reason for the limited interaction reported was the fact that the

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peasantry had 'no business with the schools'. This is so because many do not send their children to school. It was found that the number of children ever sent to school by the respondents was not significantly greater than the number not sent. On average, 2 children per household were reported as ever sent to school (the average household size in Welmera is estimated to be 5).

A good many children in the age-range 7-14 were not being sent to school even at the time of the survey. The main reasons given were that they had no time for school owing to work, and that there was no school nearby which they could attend. It is quite essential, therefore, that a policy of educational expansion take into account the fact that children constitute part of the work-force of rural communities. Sufficient time could not be made available for school particularly because the schools are generally located quite far from a large part of the population that they are supposed to serve. If schools were available nearby, it is quite likely that many more children would attend than is the case at present. The problem is considered in detail below.

The problem of participation of schools in the rural communities

In principle, the schools are supposed to serve the populations of adjacent peasant associations, However, in the case of the two schools examined, it was found that many of the pupils came from quite distant areas.

Table 5 shows the pattern of distribution of the pupils of Welmera-Finland Elementary School according to the peasant associations from which they come and the distance travelled to school by them. It is clear that a good number of the children come from peasant associations located quite far from the schools. One child for instance was reported to walk 20 kms a day, and 14 children about 16 kms a day, to and from school!

TABLE 5. Distribution of pupils of Welmera-Finland school by peasant association and distance travelled to school, 1981/82

Peasant association	Percentage of total enrolement		Average return distance (km)
	M	F	
Welmera-Goro	34	49	6
Sademo	29	30	4.5
Ilala-Gojo	14	5	10.5
Welmera-Chokie	13	8	10
Haro-Boki	4	—	16
Guntuta	0.8	1.4	10
Ada-Ilu	0.8	—	16
Shola-Genet	—	0.6	20
Others			
Genet Town and surroundings	4	6	10
Menagesha-Kolobo Town	0.4	—	10
Total	100	100	

SOURCE Welmera-Finland school records. (Distances were estimated in consultation with the school principal.)

113 BEST COPY AVAILABLE

The reason for travelling such long distances is the obvious one of the absence of schools nearby and the difficulty of finding places even when a school may be found closer to the homes of the children.

It was stated above that in the case of Aba Wolde-Mariam School, about 75 per cent of the children were reported to come from the two adjacent peasant associations—Rogie and Guntuta, while the remainder were reported to come from 16 other peasant associations as well as from the surroundings of Genet Town (see Table 6).

The greater number of peasant associations served by Aba Wolde-Mariam is explained by the fact that the school also provides junior-secondary education. Because there are very few secondary schools, their catchment areas tend to be wider than those of the elementary schools. Thus, Yekatit 25, the only school with a senior-secondary section, attracts students from the entire *Wereda* and even from other nearby *Weredas*.

TABLE 6. Estimated distance travelled to school by pupils of Aba Wolde-Mariam school

Peasant association	Average return distance (km)
Rogie	6
Guntuta	8
Oborsa	10
Geresu 1	8
Geresu 2	4
Kumburie	10
Kawo	8
Wajitu-Fiche	14
Lafto-Waji	14
Suba 1	20
Suba 2	18
Nuro-Tera	16
Hamus-Gebeya	24
Shola-Genert	18
Marcos	10
Meta-Jara	26
Arbu-Bishoftu	12
Tulu-Jebi	16
Others	
Genet and surroundings	12

SOURCE Aba Wolde-Mariam school principal.

The distances travelled to school by a few of the students of Aba Wolde-Mariam were extremely long, which prompted the researcher to inquire further into the circumstances of children who travelled long distances to school. Two pupils of the Welmera-Finland School and one of Yekatit 25 School were therefore interviewed. The two pupils of Welmera-Finland, a boy and a girl, were selected at random from among children who walked relatively long

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distances to school. The student from Yekatit 25 School was interviewed because it was reported that he travelled nearly 40 kms. a day to school and return home! The results of the three interviews are provided below.

(a) *Interview with Negassa Beycha Debelie (boy), third-grade pupil at Welmera-Finland*

Negassa My name is Negassa Beycha Debelie; I am 12 years old; and I come from Haro-Boki.

Researcher Do you know how far Haro-Boki is from the school?

Negassa Not far.

Researcher How long does it take you to arrive here in the morning?

Negassa I leave home at 7.00 a.m. and I arrive here at about 8.00 a.m.

Researcher It takes you about one hour to get here?

Negassa I think it takes me one half-hour more.

Researcher How do you know that it is 7.00 a.m. when you leave home?

Negassa By the radio; when my father starts the radio it is 7.00 a.m. I leave home then.

Researcher So you do have a radio at home?

Negassa Yes, my father does and we all listen to it.

Researcher Do you take breakfast before leaving home?

Negassa Yes most of the time; I eat *injera* and *wet* (Ethiopian bread and stew).

Researcher Do you take milk and meat?

Negassa Sometimes I drink some milk; we eat meat only on *Adu Ayana* (generally meaning religious holidays in Oromogna).

Researcher How many classes do you attend every day?

Negassa I attend the following classes:

1. Sports
2. Amharic
3. Maths
4. English
5. Social Science
6. Music
7. Art
8. Science

Researcher Do you eat lunch here?

Negassa No, I eat at home.

Researcher At what time do you arrive home?

Negassa I think maybe at 4.00 p.m.

Researcher What do you do after you get home?

Negassa I eat my dinner; then I help my parents do some work.

Researcher Negassa, do you have brothers and sisters?

Negassa Yes, 5 brothers and 1 sister.

Researcher This means that you have 9 persons in your family?

Negassa No, it is 8.

Researcher Let us count again: 5 brothers, 1 sister, your father, your mother, and yourself; that makes 9, doesn't it?

Negassa No, because the 5 brothers includes me.

Researcher Does your house have a single room?

Negassa Yes.

Researcher Do you have a separate kitchen?[1]

Negassa Yes, and our house has a corrugated-iron roof.[1]

1. These factors indicate a better than average living condition.

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Researcher What do you do for lighting at night?
Negassa *Kuraz* (a very small kerosene lamp).
Researcher Do you study by *Kuraz* light at night?
Negassa Yes. We have two. I use one of them when I need to study.
Researcher Do you feel tired after you walk to school and back to your home having attended many classes?
Negassa No.

(b) *Interview with Wudie Gedefa Hundie (girl), third-grade pupil at Welmera-Finland*

Wudie My name is Wudie Gedefa Hundie; I am 14; and I belong to Illala-Gojo Peasant Association.
Researcher Illala-Gojo is near Genet town; isn't there a school closer to your home there?
Wudie From my side of the peasant association, this school is closer.
Researcher I see. How far is your home from the school?
Wudie I don't know.
Researcher How long does it take you to reach here?
Wudie When I run part of the way, I can arrive in one hour.
Researcher Do you eat breakfast every morning?
Wudie Yes, I do.
Researcher How many class periods do you have every day?
Wudie Seven.
Researcher Isn't it supposed to be eight?
Wudie With the Sports, yes.
Researcher Do you bring lunch to school?
Wudie No, we don't bring any.
Researcher About what time do you arrive home after school?
Wudie Maybe at 3.30 p.m.
Researcher What time do you eat lunch then?
Wudie As soon as I arrive home.
Researcher What do you usually do after you eat?
Wudie I usually do some household chores.
Researcher Like what?
Wudie Different things. And I fetch water from the river.
Researcher Do you have brothers and sisters?
Wudie Yes, two and two.
Researcher How many persons in your family.
Wudie We are seven.
Researcher How many rooms does your house have?
Wudie One only.
Researcher Do you have a separate place for cooking?
Wudie Yes.
Researcher What do you do for lighting at night?
Wudie We have *Kuraz*.
Researcher Do you study by *Kuraz* light?
Wudie Yes.
Researcher Do you ever feel tired when you get home from school?
Wudie Not at all.

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(c) *Interview with Bonsa Legesse Wakenie (boy), 10th grade student, Yekatit 25 secondary school*

Bonsa	My name is Bonsa Legesse Wakenie; I am 19 years old; I come from Buku-Sami Peasant Association, Telecho Zone.
Researcher	What is the distance of your home from the school?
Bonsa	I do not really know.
Researcher	Can you tell me how many hours it takes you to come here?
Bonsa	About 3 hours; I usually start when it is still dark at about 5.00 a.m. and arrive here about 8.00 a.m.
Researcher	Do you walk fast coming here?
Bonsa	In fact I run some of the way.
Researcher	The distance of your home from the school may be about 18 km?
Bonsa	It could be.
Researcher	Do you take breakfast before leaving home?
Bonsa	At that hour?
Researcher	How many class sessions do you attend?
Bonsa	Six.
Researcher	At what time do you break for lunch?
Bonsa	I finish here at 12.15 p.m. and start for home.
Researcher	Don't you eat lunch before starting for home?
Bonsa	No, but whenever I happen to have some money I drink a cup of tea at Genet before leaving for home.
Researcher	What time do you arrive home?
Bonsa	Usually around 3.00 p.m.
Researcher	What do you do when you reach home?
Bonsa	I eat. Then I spend about one hour doing my homework. After that I do farm work for about two hours.
Researcher	What kind of farm work do you do?
Bonsa	It depends. This past month it has been harvesting and threshing.
Researcher	Do you study at home?
Bonsa	As I say I do my homework; then at night I try to study some.
Researcher	Do you have brothers and sisters?
Bonsa	Yes, four brothers and two sisters; I am the oldest.
Researcher	I take it you have 9 in your family?
Bonsa	Yes.
Researcher	Is your house a single-room *tukul?*
Bonsa	Yes.
Researcher	Everyone sleep there?
Bonsa	Yes.
Researcher	Do you have a separate kitchen?
Bonsa	Yes.
Researcher	What do you use for lighting at night?
Bonsa	*Kuraz*.
Researcher	Can you study by the *kuraz* light?
Bonsa	I try.
Researcher	Do you feel hungry or tired by the time you get home?
Bonsa	I used to; but now I am used to it; I don't think about it.
Researcher	How about your health?
Bonsa	I think I feel quite healthy.

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The extent of participation in schools and the degree of integration of the latter with the rural communities are in good part dependent on the proximity of the schools to the population served. As explained above, the schools tend to be located in relative isolation within the vast rural landscape around them. Because of the difficulty of covering the long distances to and from school, many children actually spend the school-week with relatives or friends who live nearer to the school that they attend. Such students generally bring their weekly food provisions from their homes. Thus, while the children do make an effort to go to schools, the schools are able to reach out to only a few of the communities close enough to them.

Popular participation in education-related programmes

As stated above, much of the rural development function entails 'education' of one type or another. The function of the extension service is a case in point, and the types of advice provided, and its relevance, were examined.

The extension service is obviously provided by the Representative Office of the Ministry of Agriculture, although from time to time production advice to the adjacent communities may be given by representatives of IAR as well. It was however reported by 50 per cent of the respondents that they rarely or never received any advice on improving food-crop production. Also over 75 per cent of the respondents indicated that they had rarely or never received advice on improving livestock production. Generally speaking, such advice concerns vaccination of animals and it is therefore likely that some respondents do not regard this 'regular' advice as being a method of 'improving livestock production'.

It is worth noting that in connection with the most important type of activity in the area, namely food-crop production, those communities which received more frequent advice are again those located not too far from Genet town.

Rural development programmes can have relevance only if they respond to the felt needs of rural communities. The needs of the people are best articulated by the people themselves. Yet, the peasantry are provided with little opportunity to participate even at the level of need identification.

Generally speaking, the most common problems of food-crop production concerned climate, plant diseases, wild animals, weeds and poor soil, in that order. Yet, according to the respondents, the most common advice obtained concerned the use of fertilizers, better seed-bed preparation, terracing, use of improved seeds, better weeding, use of herbicides, pesticides, manure and irrigation, in that order. Of course, the advice and inputs actually needed vary from community to community. Although the emphasis given to better seed-bed preparation is to be welcomed, there is a degree of incongruity between the advice provided and the needs ranked by the peasantry. For instance, where the problem of poor soil is mentioned by the smallest number of respondents, the use of fertilizer appears to be one of the most common types of advice provided. Where plant diseases seem to be a common problem, the use of pesticides is not among the most common types of advice provided.

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Such incongruity could be avoided if the peasants were enabled to participate in planning the work of the extension service. As it is, the peasantry were hardly consulted on matters regarding the problems of production that they encountered, and again the closer the peasant association to Genet, the relatively more frequent were consultations. Further, frequency of consultation with the members of producers' co-operatives tends to be greater than with the members of peasant associations.

In concluding, it may be reiterated that popular participation, i.e. the 'integration of the people' in rural development programmes generally, and in education and education-related activities particularly, leaves much to be desired in Welmera *Wereda*. Indeed, the question that merits prior attention seems to be whether the conditions for participation are being fulfilled in Welmera, and in this connection, the limited number of schools in the *Wereda* and the *modus operandi* of education-related projects call for consideration.

The outcomes of education for rural development

The ultimate evidence of integration of education in rural development must be the degree to which education has been functional in bringing about change in the lives of the rural population. Such an outcome would imply that the educational effort has been reinforced by other development inputs and *vice versa,* that is to say a degree of integration of rural development activities has been realized. This study has not attempted to 'measure' the effects of education on rural change, however, for measurement of the outcomes of education is an extremely difficult task under any circumstances. Under the revolutionary conditions of Ethiopia, the many new influences on rural society can hardly be fully apprehended, much less measured.

Though it may be extremely difficult to show a correlation, or lack of it, between education and rural development, a beginning can be made to assess the outcomes of certain types of educational inputs. Formal education has touched the lives of a good many of the rural children and, indirectly at least, of their parents as well; participation in the National Literacy Campaign has been impressive, and education-related programmes, such as agricultural extension services, have come to affect the lives of rural people to one degree or another. Therefore an attempt has been made to look into the more direct results of formal education, as well as of the literacy programme and other types of nonformal education. It must, however, be emphasized that the purpose is not to analyse the likely multiple effects of education on the life of the people, but rather to get an idea of what aspects of the education provided have been functional and what aspects possibly have not.

The main outcomes of formal education in rural Welmera

Elementary education has not always resulted even in functional literacy, according to experiences in other parts of Africa, and it would have been of interest to look into this matter in rural Welmera. Unfortunately few, if any, of the peasantry claim to be educated at this level, precisely because the actual

119 BEST COPY AVAILABLE

function of formal education has in the past been to pave the way for movement of the 'educated' away from the rural sector. The system of formal education is so organized that higher levels of education are attained in progressively larger 'urban' centres. But perhaps the content of education has been more important than this physical pull, for until very recently the education system tended to prepare students more for white-collar and professional careers than for participation in directly productive activities such as agriculture.

The main consequence of formal education in Welmera has been this 'traditional' one, for it was found that over 80 per cent of the children of the respondents who ever attended school had not become farmers, and of those who had become farmers, most had attended only up to the fourth-grade level, though a few had passed the eighth-grade level. Indeed, most of the rural children who had left school were reported to have left early.

The particular reasons why children left school are varied. Only about 13 per cent were reported to have left owing to failure. Most had left for more than one reason. Typical reasons given were the need to assist in farm work, because it was not possible to support the children while attending school, or because it was necessary for them to become self-supporting and marry. According to the findings of this particular study, no more girls than boys had left school early for reason of marriage.

One of the side results of migration is recognized as the sending of financial remittances by migrants to their homes. Slightly over 10 per cent of all migrants who had left their communities for any reason were reported to send regular remittances to their parents or families. Though the number of remittances are few, the actual amounts remitted cannot be considered small when compared to the level of income of the rural population.

Of course, financial remittances should not be taken as justification for rural-to-urban migration, especially of the educated. The most desirable outcome of education would obviously be that many of the educated themselves should become agents of rural development. This has not so far been the case in rural Welmera, nor does the prospect seem to be bright, according to the respondents interviewed. Nearly 75 per cent of the respondents did not expect their children who were in school at the time of the survey to become farmers. The main explanation given was that the children preferred to enter Government service, that is, they preferred white-collar occupations. Actually such occupations, and indeed any other types of occupations, are becoming difficult to find in cities such as Addis Ababa. Many of the school drop-outs and those who do not make it to the university are more likely to join the ranks of the unemployed than to obtain ready employment. The expectation of obtaining employment in urban areas as a result of elementary and secondary schooling is an illusion that lingers in the minds of too many people.

120

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The outcomes of literacy: applying the three Rs

As explained earlier, 40 of the respondents or about 17 per cent of the total in this study were questioned to find out the extent to which their newly-gained literacy has been functional. It transpired that all of them were not continuing in any post-literacy programme, and this made the group more suitable for the purpose intended. The most common reason given for not continuing in post-literacy education was the lack of time due to engagement in production or other work.

The respondents were asked to indicate frequency of reading since they became literate. Nearly 40 per cent reported that they read some material daily, and about 17 per cent once a week. However, 27 per cent indicated that they rarely or never read anything. Of the type of materials read, books were mentioned in nearly 50 per cent of cases and newspapers in nearly 45 per cent.

The respondents indicated that 70 per cent of the materials read were purchased by themselves and about 13 per cent were borrowed. Of the materials recently read, which were felt to be particularly interesting, 32 per cent dealt with farming, but an equal proportion reported that they had not read anything they considered particularly interesting.

With regard to writing, it was learned that 33 per cent of the respondents used their writing skills almost daily and 20 per cent about once a week. However, about 37 per cent stated that they wrote something about once a month or rarely. In 35 per cent of cases, the written materials consisted of letters to the mass organizations of which they were members, and in about 33 per cent of cases they were personal letters to relatives or friends.

Can it be concluded from the foregoing information that literacy has been functional in rural Welmera? A fair assessment would be more positive than negative as far as the application of the skills learned is concerned. Admittedly, the number of persons questioned was relatively small. However, the finding that over 50 per cent of the respondents were relatively frequently doing some kind of reading should not be underestimated. With regard to writing, too, a similar assessment seems to be justified. There is, however, reason for deep concern about so many of the respondents who rarely or never read or wrote anything, since they may lapse into illiteracy if nothing is done to enable them to apply their skills. Indeed, according to the respondents, not all that had been learned in the three R's was remembered at the time of the survey.

The foregoing assessment has taken no account of other likely influences of the literacy programme on the lives of the population. For example, when the newly-literate peasants were asked to indicate 'the most important effects of literacy on their lives', their almost unanimous answer was that they no longer had to depend on anyone to read and write for them. Can this be taken to be an indication that the attainment of 'independence' is one of the intangible oucomes of literacy?

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Extent of adoption of production techniques and other practices

(a) *Production advice by extension service.* The peasants were asked whether they had implemented the advice obtained from the agricultural extension agents. The responses obtained differed sharply between the members of the producers' co-operatives and those of the peasant associations, about 85 per cent of the former reporting that they had applied all advice obtained compared with 35 per cent of the latter. The main explanation for this disparity seems to be the fact that more attention and support was being given to the co-operatives than to peasant associations by the extension agents.

The reasons for failure to apply advice obtained fully depended on the particular type of advice. In the case of terracing, for instance, the only reason indicated was the difficulty of construction due to lack of know-how and necessary material, and in the case of fertilizer the main reason mentioned was its high cost.

It is important to note that where advice was reported to have been applied in full, it was not necessarily always correctly applied. This is often true especially with regard to the application of such inputs as fertilizer and pesticides.

(b) *The outcome of farmer training.* It was possible to identify 14 former participants of the Farm-Training Centre among the members of the mass organizations surveyed. In no case were these trainees formally placed in a position to instruct members of their communities on what they had learned. When asked whether they had taught what they had learned or whether they had applied it themselves, most tended to answer in the positive. It was soon discovered that this was not entirely true and that they responded in the positive for fear that they might be criticized for failing to teach or apply what they knew. The participants who answered in the negative explained that they were not asked to teach or that they had not themselves well understood.

The matter of follow-up of the trainees was discussed with the Director of the Farm-Training Centre. Its need was keenly felt by the Director, but its absence was due mainly to lack of funds, particularly for transportation.

(c) *Health practices.* An attempt was made to inquire into the extent to which a few of the most common types of training given to rural women by extension agents of the Representative Office of the Ministry of Agriculture and the Farm-Training Centre were being applied. These pertained mainly to mother and child care and dietary practices.

It was shown above that the rate of natural increase of the population of rural Welmera is very high. Also nearly 80 per cent of the male and about 60 per cent of the female respondents expressed a desire to have more children, in order to increase the household labour-force and to ensure sources of support during old age.

None of the respondents to whom the question was applicable indicated the use of any type of birth-control methods, the main explanation given being lack

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of any information about it. About 15 per cent of the women and 9 per cent of the men reported having knowledge of modern birth-control methods, and half of those who had such knowledge reported their sources of information to be friends and neighbours. The vast majority of both the male and female respondents indicated that they had no desire to use any birth-control methods in the future.

It was found that over 80 per cent of the babies born to the respondents over the past five years were born with assistance from traditional midwives or relatives, 10 per cent without such assistance, and only 7 per cent were reported to have been born in a hospital or clinic. This latter information reflects the fact that there are no such facilities accessible to the rural population, and is not necessarily due to ignorance of the benefits to be derived.

Over 70 per cent of the children born to the mothers interviewed were reported to have been vaccinated, mainly against small-pox. This is probably more related to the recent campaign to eradicate small-pox than the outcome of the training received by the mothers. Many of the respondents in fact indicated that they had no knowledge of the need for other types of vaccinations or that they had no access to such services.

Generally speaking, the knowledge of the respondents regarding mother and child care was mixed. Except in the case of the benefits of breast-feeding and exposure of babies to sunshine, there was no reason to believe that most of the mothers were well informed about new practices or that they had given up harmful traditional practices.

With regard to the diet of the population surveyed, hardly anything that was not well-known was discovered. The diet generally consisted of the traditional *injera* and *wet*, often served twice a day. The diet of the population included meat only rarely and was generally lacking in fruits and vegetables, as is the case in much of rural Ethiopia. If the diet is considered inadequate, the reason for it was not that the people were uninformed about how to improve it, but often that their means did not permit greater or more diversified food consumption. A good number of the women, for instance, expressed knowledge about the food values of meat, milk and vegetables.

As indicated earlier in this study, food supply was less than was needed according to significant proportions of both male and female respondents. In fact, close to 10 per cent of all members of the peasant associations and producers' co-operatives had had to borrow money for the purchase of food. The inadequacy of the food supply may be taken as an important commentary on the outcome of efforts to increase food production by the extension service.

Nearly 80 per cent of the women respondents interviewed reported that they obtained their drinking-water from rivers, sometimes travelling return distances of nearly 10 km. daily. Asked whether drinking-water was boiled, about two-thirds of the respondents aswered in the negative. Half of those not boiling their drinking-water explained that they did not know that this was needed, and about 30 per cent that they had no time for the activity.

Of the women interviewed, nearly 80 per cent indicated that there were no

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latrines in their back-yards. When asked the reasons for this, two-thirds aswered that they did not know that it was necessary. Also about 17 per cent indicated that the construction of latrines was not customary, and the same proportion that they could not afford to construct latrines or that they had no time for this prupose.

(d) *Institutional aspects.* One of the main preoccupations of the Representative Office of the Ministry of Agriculture is the promotion of producers' co-operatives and of transitional institutions such as the peasant associations and their service co-operatives. Membership of the peasant associations is complete in Welmera. Yet, when the members were asked to state the functions of their associations, not a single one of them mentioned any of the duties and responsibilities as officially pronounced. Rather, their functions were stated in terms of the particular activities that they had carried out in their respective communities. Examples of such activities mentioned were the building of an assembly hall or grain store, ploughing the land of men at the war front, undertaking reafforestation, etc. A similar pattern of responses was obtained from many of the members of the producers' co-operatives. However, some of these also identified the general functions of the co-operatives.

The service co-operatives were also known for what they did, namely the operation of retail stores for consumer goods. None of their official functions were mentioned by the respondents; indeed, over 25 per cent of the respondents admitted ignorance. About 80 per cent of those who purchased anything from the retail shops of the co-operatives reported that the services obtained were not satisfactory, mostly because the desired items of purchase were not available.

The main attraction of the producers' co-operatives seems to be the expectation of higher income, as indicated by about 30 per cent of the respondents who expressed a desire to join. Those who were already members also expressed their main reason for joining as expectation of higher income.

The findings of the study as regards the women's associations were very similar. On the whole, it can be said that the new mass organizations have formally brought the people into their fold and have enabled them to undertake communal programmes, but have yet to become fully a part of the fabric of rural society.

(e) *Social and attitudinal aspects.* Because of the importance attached to work and production in the Socialist system, the respondents were asked a few questions in order to assess the extent to which traditional attitudes toward certain types of occupations were being affected directly or indirectly by education. It was found that significant proportions of the respondents continued to reject the occupations of leather-worker and blacksmith. The consistency of the responses of the male and female respondents is remarkable in this respect.

On the question of parental preference of occupations for boys and girls, there was also a degree of consistency of responses by the male and female

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respondents. About one-third of both would have their daughters become housewives. Equally sizeable proportions would have their sons and daughters become doctors, teachers and civil servants. The most revealing finding of all pertained to the career of 'farming', which was ranked as 1 and 2 by just under 20 per cent of the respondents. What could be the reason for such a relatively low degree of preference for farming, and for a much lower preference still for the career of industrial worker? Most likely it is a reflection of the attitudes of the children themselves, which are acquired from the schools and from a society which until very recently has ascribed a high status to white-collar occupations.

A common belief among the Coptic Christian population of rural Ethiopia, to which the vast majority of the people of Welmera belong, is that working on certain days dedicated to the Saints would bring disaster. Thus, no agricultural work is performed on those days and in spite of the teaching of the rural development cadres, this attitude persists. When asked what would happen if they worked on certain Saints' days, the most common aswer obtained was that hail, frost or pest might play havoc with crops.

7. Summary of the main findings

The study has endeavoured to explore the extent to which education, broadly understood, is integrated in rural development. Several dimensions of the problem of integration—the dimensions of planning, organization and popular participation—have been explored.

Education in Ethiopia: instrument of social mobilization and rural development

—Assessed on the basis of the aims of the Democratic Revolution under way in Ethiopia, rural development assumes a far wider scope than is the case for the majority of developing countries.

—The development strategy being pursued may be described as an 'enabling strategy' of development, the main feature of which is the mobilization of the people through institutional and educational means.

—Where education was often assigned the function of 'preservation' and 'transmission' of culture, it is today conceived as an instrument for the infusion of a new culture and for the creation of a radically different society. One of the initial measures taken in the education sector has been to enable the people to participate in the management of elementary and secondary schools. Institutional development and educational expansion can therefore be seen as interdependent elements in the comprehensive approach of rural and national development in Ethiopia.

There is clear evidence that Ethiopia today is placing emphasis on mass education. This may be understood as a strategy aiming to mobilize the adult

125
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population for the development task of transition, while preparing the young for their rightful place in the future socialist society.

—There has already been a perceptible change in the pattern of distribution of educational opportunity in favour of those segments of Ethiopian society which were educationally 'underprivileged' in the pre-revolution period.

The problem of integration of education on the national level

—Consistent with its Socialist philosophy, Ethiopia today regards central planning as a fundamental instrument for achieving National development goals and for the management and control of economic activities.

What we find in Ethiopia today is a system in transition. The overall planning system that prevails is that provided by the structure of the National Revolutionary Development Campaign and Central Planning Supreme Council (NRDC-CPSC). Educational planning or any other sectoral planning cannot be seen outside the NRDC-CPSC structure and *modus operandi*, for the system is comprehensive and directive, as well as participative.

—In almost all Ministries, the institutional and technical bases of planning leave much to be desired below the central levels. The Ministerial representatives in the various regions have inherited little planning experience and the grass-roots mass organizations are still in the process of being shaped. New educational goals and overall strategies have been articulated; the challenge now is to provide the necessary technical and institutional apparatus at different levels for translating these goals and strategies into effective action. It must be emphasized that the degree of integration of education in rural development cannot be expected to be greater than the degree of integration achieved at the level of national development planning.

Profile of education in a rural community

—The field-survey area has been characterized as being quite similar to other areas in a good part of Shewa Region. Production is mainly at the subsistence level.

—All the peasants have become members of peasant associations, of which there are 54 in the *Wereda*. The rate of population growth is high and there also prevails a general pronatal attitude among the population. Income is low in Welmera, and so is the general standard of living.

Formal education in Welmera

—There were 14 schools in Welmera in 1981/82, with a total enrolment of 5,316 students, the distribution being generally biased toward the small towns in the area.

Generally speaking, the enrolment of girls in elementary schools matches that of boys where the schools are located in or near the towns, but tends to be much lower in the 'country' schools.

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—A detailed examination of two schools shows that the School Committees established by Proclamation 103, Proclamation to Provide for the Administration and Control of Schools by the People, have yet to carry out many of the responsibilities legally assigned to them.
—The elementary-school programme is in the process of revision. One experimental 'polytechnic' educational programme was observed in the survey area, in which the most outstanding feature was the integration of 'academic' learning with skill development. It was reported that the new programme is already showing highly positive results.
—The performance of Welmera pupils in national examinations has been satisfactory. There seem to be proportionately more male passes in the Sixth- and Eighth-Grade National Examinations, however.

Nonformal education in Welmera

—The National Literacy Campaign has been in progress in Welmera since July 1979. Nearly everyone able to follow the programme has participated in at least one round of the Campaign. The rural communities have participated not only in learning, but also in support of the programme financially and in kind.
—The most conspicuous feature of the operation of the National Literacy Campaign is reflected in the hierarchical committee structure and the more-or-less uniform *modus operandi*. At peasant-association level, the Literacy Committee consists mainly of elected representatives of the people, i.e. implementation of the Campaign in the rural areas is the responsibility of the people themselves.
—There have been two main phases of the Literacy programme. The first phase is focused on the development of literacy and numeracy skills. The second or post-literacy phase provides the opportunity for newly-literate persons to apply their skills and attain a firmer grasp of what they learned in the first phase. This phase aims to inculcate extensive functional knowledge and skills. Generally speaking, completion of post-literacy would qualify one for admission to schools at third-grade level.
—Three other education-related programmes being carried out in Welmera are the extension service, and the Farm-Training and Bee-Breeding Centre programmes, all under the Ministry of Agriculture.
  (i) The aspects of agricultural and rural development covered by the extension service include crop production and protection, animal husbandry, peasant organization, home economics and political education.
  (ii) The programmes of the Farm-Training Centre are similar to that of the extension service and are tailored for peasants, rural women, and agricultural development agents.
  (iii) The Bee-Breeding Centre provides training to peasants and to development agents.

127
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Integration of education in rural development:
the organizational aspect

—The organizational structures of the development-related and mass-based organizations are more or less parallel to one another, each organized hierarchically so that linkages among them are not strong on the *Wereda* level.
The NRDC-CPSC structure has provided an initial mechanism for pulling the various Government and mass organizations toward the centre at all levels, including the *Wereda* level. Integration seems to occur only with regard to matters of Campaign programme implementation, however.
—According to the reports of past and current office-holders of the peasant associations and producers' co-operatives, there has been little interaction of the mass organizations with the Governmental establishments in Welmera.
—The schools of Welmera do not have formal relationships with one another. This is explained by the fact that there is no *Wereda* office of the Ministry of Education.
—At peasant-association level in Welmera, the formal mechanism for co-ordinating the schools with the Literacy structure is not fully functional, because the few available school principals could only serve on a few local literacy committees. Also the interaction of schools with Government establishments within the *Wereda* are few and far between.

Integration of education in rural development:
the aspect of popular participation

—Most of the respondents of the peasant associations and producers' co-operatives reported that interactions with their mass organizations were limited. The interactions of the peasantry with Development agencies were found to be even more limited.
—Generally speaking, the interactions of schools with the community are also limited, one basic reason being the fact that many parents do not send their children to school.
The extent of participation in schools and the degree of integration of the latter with the rural communities are restricted by the fact that schools are few and dispersed.
—Participation, 'the integration of the people' in rural development generally and in education and education-related activities particularly, is found to be much less than is potentially attainable.

The outcomes of education for rural development

—The main effect of formal education in Welmera seems to have been to pave the way for movement of the 'educated' away from the rural area.
—A significant proportion of the newly-literate individuals interviewed

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reported that they used their newly-acquired skills relatively frequently. A good many reported, however, that they have not been able to apply their reading and writing skills. This latter fact indicates the need for more vigorous follow-up programmes, such as the on-going campaign for the provision of community reading-rooms, to make the literacy programme more effective.

—The extent of adoption of agricultural advice provided to the peasantry leaves much to be desired in Welmera. The same can be said with regard to health practices and related aspects of the training provided by extension agents.

—With regard to institutional aspects, it can be said that on the whole, the new mass organizations have formally brought the people into their fold and have enabled them to undertake some communal programmes, but have yet to become fully part of the fabric of rural society.

—In spite of the exposure of the rural population to many new influences, traditional social beliefs and attitudes continue to prevail.

—With regard to nonformal education, such as the National Literacy Programme and those of the Ministry of Agriculture, one generally positive commentary that may be made is that they are conceptually geared to the needs of the rural population as generally understood. The main difficulty is how to achieve co-ordination and how to make the programmes more effective through better planning and better arrangements for implementation and follow-up.

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CHAPTER VII

Planning and management of education within integrated rural development projects in India

Summary version of a case study by

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1. Theoretical framework

Introduction

India is a land of villages. Out of the 685.18 million people of India in 1981, 525.46 million live in rural areas. Though there has been a gradual decline in the proportion of rural population, in terms of actual numbers the increase has been staggering. As such India has retained and will continue to retain its rural character.

The development of rural India is crucial for the overall development of the nation. A great majority of the working population are engaged in agriculture and allied activities, rural industries, handicrafts and household industry. The rural areas contribute a large share to India's net domestic product. However, there has been a decline in the relative contribution of the primary sector to the net domestic product, from 50.1 per cent in 1970–71 to 40.9 per cent in 1978–79 at current prices.

The steady decline in the share of the primary, essentially rural sector, should be cause for concern in the planning and management of national and in particular rural development efforts. This decline has been due primarily to a fall in the rate of agricultural productivity, agriculture by itself being the single largest sector contributing to the net domestic product.

At the same time, the rural population has increased from 438 million in 1971 to 525 million in 1981. The net domestic product accruing from the primary sector, measured *per capita* of the rural population, thus remains virtually unchanged at constant prices: it was 395 rupees in 1970–71, and 408 rupees in 1978–79 (663 rupees at current prices). All rural development efforts seem to have been ineffective in raising the *per capita* rural income and thereby the quality of life in rural areas. Moreover, questions of distribution and equity need to be raised.

There are 350 million people in India who live below the poverty line, an

imaginary cut-off point which separates families of about five persons with an annual income of less than Rs. 3,500 from those above this figure. In other words, over 53.0 per cent of people in India live below the poverty line, and 300 out of these 350 million are in rural areas.

These are the teeming millions who are not able to procure for themselves two square meals a day; they belong to families who are not able to send their children to school; families where malnutrition among children is rampant, infant mortality rate is high, life expectancy is low, diseases dominate, work opportunities are few and far between, wages are low, superstition galore; the millions who live in the hope of a better tomorrow.

In India, considerable efforts have been made to improve their lot. A large number of rural development projects have been planned, implemented, evaluated, redefined, modified and continued. In spite of these efforts, appreciable results have not been forthcoming. Is this due to a paucity of resources, or to unimaginative planning and lax management of the given resources? Research evidence is necessary to form an opinion in this regard.

There may be several explanations for the relatively dismal performance of India, in the field of agriculture in particular and rural development in general. These may include:

—uneven land distribution and inadequate success of land reforms;
—lack of irrigation facilities;
—insufficient facilities for marketing, storage, supply of inputs, and institutional finance;
—dearth of roads and transport;
—spread of illiteracy;
—poor coverage of technical information and communication patterns;
—inadequate mobilization of the working class and their organized articulation of interests;
—absence of a creative and dynamic development administration which precludes an effective delivery of services;
—etc.

Each of the explanations is worthy of consideration. However, for many of these factors, changes may turn out to be too costly, too complex, or too time-consuming. For instance, land reforms that have ideological overtones may not be encouraged by an established social system; to ensure their success, a thorough unweaving and reweaving of the whole fabric of socio-economic and political life is required—a complex and time-consuming process. Similarly, to think of full or widespread literacy in a country such as India which has only 38.4 per cent literate population according to the 1981 census, is a time-consuming proposition. Insufficient irrigation facilities, inadequate infrastructures, an unorganized, uneducated mass of rural people, uneven distribution of land, haunting poverty, etc., must all be viewed as contingencies of the rural existence. Given these circumstances, assuming a fixed resource base, given the socio-economic and political structure of rural life, and willing to work for the moment within the given constraints, the question remains: are changes

131 BEST COPY AVAILABLE

and improvements possible, even if they should be marginal and in keeping with a subsistence economy?

Perhaps the best available option is to readjust the planning, administrative and management system in such a way that the given physical and human resources and efforts are more effectively geared to the needs, aspirations and potential of the rural populace. It does not, *prima facie*, involve considerations of cost, is basically rather simple, and less time-consuming. One may wonder, of course, whether through better planning and management alone the rural development process can indeed be strengthened and accelerated. There are a few research studies, mainly relating to agricultural projects, which indicate a positive reply to this question.

For other, non-agricultural rural development efforts the value of planning and management is yet to be explored. Hence the need for examining the place and importance of planning and management of physical and human resources in realizing the goals of rural development.

Objectives of the study

While the planning and management of the whole process of rural development are considered as crucial factors, the present study has a more limited focus: it is concerned with the planning and management of 'education' within integrated rural development projects.

This main focus entails several specific objectives: (i) to study the mechanisms of vertical co-ordination within, and horizontal co-ordination across different sectors of rural development; (ii) to assess the interplay of formal education with other socio-economic variables characteristic of rural life; (iii) to examine the planning, management, monitoring, and integration of nonformal education in selected rural development projects; and (iv) to analyse the dynamics of participation of rural people in development projects.

The study area

The present study is set in a cluster of villages in the Channarayapatna block of Hassan District in Karnataka State. The name of the cluster is Yaliyur.

The Yaliyur cluster of villages has been chosen as a purposive sample. It has certain special characteristics when compared with the other seven clusters of the block: Yaliyur cluster records the lowest population among the eight clusters (2,021 persons), the second lowest number of households (353 households), a high literacy rate (33 per cent; the block literacy rate is 28 per cent), a moderate proportion of scheduled caste population (7 per cent for the cluster and 8.3 per cent for the block) and a high proportion (59 per cent) of households identified as being below the poverty line.

Yaliyur is the main village of the cluster and it has 7 satellite villages. There are five lower primary schools, two upper primary schools, a post office, a milk dairy society, a rural bank, electricity, *pucca* roads etc. The main village of the cluster is at a distance of 16 kilometres from the block headquarters, and is located in an area 3 kilometres away from a national highway. There is only

MAP 3. *Location of the survey area in India.*

one public bus service to the main village, which arrives in the late evening, stops in the village, and leaves early in the morning. The satellite villages are within a range of 3 kilometres from the main village, and connected by *kutcha* roads. The study area is shown on Map 3.

Yaliyur cluster of villages in Channarayapatna block provides only the physical setting of the study. However, the questions raised are general in nature. How is the spread of formal and nonformal education in a rural area linked with other socio-economic features of rural life? How does education influence people's participation in the development process? How do the processes of planning, the techniques of managment, the methods of monitoring, the degree of co-ordination of education with other development activities in an area tell upon the success of development programmes? All these are questions that are significant beyond the limited geographical area chosen for this study.

Sources and instruments of data collection

At the outset, a large mass of data about the development programmes operating in the district, block and cluster was collected. They pertained to the objectives and delivery system for these development programmes, including the structure and organization of the system at the block level and below; the nature of interaction between the district and the block, the block and the cluster, between the various development departments at the district as well as the block level; the rôle-definition of the various field functionaries; the interaction of government departments with voluntary organizations and commercial establishments; the nature of intended benefits and characteristics of beneficiaries, the publicity given to development work, etc.

All these data were examined so as to identify those rural development programmes that would have a particularly rich education and training component. After a detailed examination it was decided to settle upon two such programmes for the purpose of testing hypotheses regarding planning and management of education within integrated rural development projects: (i) The Training and Visit System of extension education in agriculture, popularly known as the T and V system, and (ii) The Training of Youth for Self-employment, popularly known as TRYSEM. Detailed information about the substance, organization and operation of these schemes is given in Section 5.

Three techniques mainly were employed for collection of data: document analysis, participant observation and interviews.

A household information schedule was used to collect data from the heads of households of the Yaliyur cluster of villages. Another schedule was used to collect information about the T and V programme from its beneficiaries, the 'contact farmers'. The Contact Farmers formed a sub-sample of the total number of households in the Yaliyur cluster.

A third schedule was used to collect data from TRYSEM beneficiaries.

A fourth schedule solicited information from agricultural assistants relating to involvement in the T & V programme, their field and organizational prob-

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lems, experiences in co-ordinating training, visits and services to farmers etc.

Data from officials at the block, district and state level as well as from village leaders, members of voluntary organizations, and others were collected through less structured interviews. A few meetings of the Department of Agriculture and the Block Development Office were attended, and their proceedings duly recorded.

Sampling and field work

There were 422 occupied residential households in the Yaliyur cluster of villages. All of them were covered through the household-information schedule. Similarly, there were 31 contact farmers in the Yaliyur range and all of them were interviewed; all agricultural assistants in the block (28 in number) were covered as well. Thus, problems of sampling did not arise. However, the number of TRYSEM beneficiaries for the whole block was 60, only three of whom lived in Yaliyur cluster. Hence it was decided to include half of the 60 living outside the Yaliyur cluster but within the Channarayapatna block.

Field work was done from April to September 1982. The two field investigators lived in the main village of the cluster during the entire field work phase.

Plan of analysis

The plan of analysis for the present study includes four main components.

First, a detailed institutional analysis is attempted of the delivery system for rural development at the block level. This involves tracing the principal developments of local administration in India from pre-independence days, through the earlier schemes of community development, to the present administrative framework for participatory development focused on the rural poor. The problems of building viable institutional linkages and managing complementarities between multiple organizational channels are discussed in depth, taking Channarayapatna block of Hassan district in Karnataka as a setting. This analysis is developed in Section 2.

Second, the sample data collected from village households are used to draw up a descriptive profile of life in Yaliyur cluster of villages. Section 3 presents the principal findings in this respect, based on frequency distributions and cross-tabulations of such variables as education, health, family structure, landholding, occupation, agricultural practices, income, membership in village organizations, etc.

Third, the same sample data serve to undertake a correlational analysis of the interaction between education and other socio-economic variables characteristic of rural life. This analysis, presented in Section 4, employs three educational variables along with a set of 13 social, occupational, and economic factors combined in an inter-correlation matrix.

Fourth, sample data collected from Contact Farmers, agricultural assistants, and TRYSEM beneficiaries permit a closer look at the rôle of education in two selected projects of rural development: the Agricultural T & V System, as well as the project of Training Youth for Self-Employment (TRYSEM).

135 BEST COPY AVAILABLE

2. The delivery system for rural development[1]

1. Overview

A significant spatial dimension of rural development organization in the State of Karnataka is the block/*taluk*. The block provides an institutional framework for participatory rural development activities, and for the organization or co-ordination of a variety of development programmes. The core of the development organization at the block level is the 'Taluk Development Board' which operates through a team of extension officers headed by a Block Development Officer (BDO). Notwithstanding a recent de-linking of agricultural and some other activities, the block agency continues to synchronize a number of crucial development activities: promotion of co-operatives, support to village *panchayat*s, organization of adult literacy and similar social-welfare activities, advancement of rural women and allied community-development activities.

It may be worth while at this point to review very briefly the evolution of local administration in India since the colonial period.

Under British rule, local administration was mainly oriented towards the needs of a colonial administration, although a developmental focus was slowly but perceptibly emerging. What we now call local administrative system for rural development, is really an extension and development of the earlier system, modified to fit in with the needs of a big and variegated developmental thrust. The system is not the product of any systematic planning intended to integrate administrative structures with the needs of the rural poor.

In the early years of community development, an organizational infrastructure was established in the blocks. An important segment of this infrastructure was an administrative team of extension officers and village-level workers drawn from various government departments, and working under the overall control of a BDO. The idea was to deliver a synchronized package of services and inputs and, therefore, to secure amidst vertical departmental boundaries a horizontal integration of development activities. The other segment was an institutional framework for popular control and supervision known as *Panchayati Raj*. The intention was to cut down bureaucracy and to create an agency that would permit mass mobilization for development.

However, the early development process was not focused on any key activity areas, nor had it any clear clientèle. But since the late 1960s there has been a marked departure from sectoral development, a concentrated effort for maximal use of local resources, and an active concern for the rural poor. The local administrative system has consequently undergone a certain re-orientation. During the Janata rule it was decided to look beyond the frontiers of agriculture and to encourage the growth of cottage and small industries to augment income and employment opportunities in the rural areas. Therefore, District Industries Centres (DIC) were set up in several districts, so as to provide co-ordinated services in this sector.

1. This section is based on a separate paper contributed by Dr. Amal Ray, Head of the Development Administration Unit, ISEC.

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The most important recently formulated programme is the Integrated Rural Development Programme (IRDP), which we shall discuss in more detail below. Its philosophy is to provide within the setting of a block the whole package of services considered necessary to lift the poorest families above the poverty line. Although a certain attention is given to infrastructure development and providing support to institutions, the main emphasis in the IRDP is on the individual beneficiary schemes. The launching of this programme has added to the existing district administration a new agency called the District Rural Development Society (DRDS). This society operates through a network of linkages with credit institutions, BDO, DIC and other development institutions at block and district levels.

The delivery system: three examples

By 'delivery system' we mean a set of tasks and their corresponding institutional channels designed to stimulate changes in production and distribution.

As there is a multitude of institutional channels which are frequently interlinked, the management of complementarities is a crucial task. This task is all the more important as the different institutions may have very incongruous development perspectives, and because rural power structures permeate organizational behaviour to a large extent. All this has an important bearing on the possibility of delivering a synchronized package of inputs and services to the rural poor at the ground level.

Activities for rural development, in the spheres of both production and distribution, are extremely varied, and cannot all be reviewed here. By way of example, we therefore propose to discuss here only three main strands of the delivery system for rural development: (i) the delivery system for agricultural development; (ii) the delivery system for development of local industries; and (iii) the delivery system for poverty-focused programmes.

(i) *The delivery system for agricultural development.* The agricultural sector requires a delivery system that is both input- and output-related. In particular, it must relate to the following activities:

—transmission of new ideas and practices in agriculture to the field;
—provision of inputs such as seeds, fertilizer, pesticides etc;
—provision of credit of various types;
—provision of storage and warehousing facilities; and
—provision of marketing.

Transmission of new ideas and practices in agriculture. In transferring new agricultural ideas and practices to the field, continuous interrelationships have been established between the University of Agricultural Sciences (UAS), the Department of Agriculture and its extension organization, the Contact Farmers and the ordinary farmers. The UAS plays a crucial rôle in transmitting new farm technology, and training the functionaries and farmers. The functionaries have an important rôle in bringing home to the multitudes of farmers the application of new ideas and practices through a mix of group discussions

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and demonstrations. Contact Farmers, if properly motivated, can act as a useful link between the extension staff and the farmers. The degree of effectiveness of this organization depends, however, upon the adequacy of top-down and bottom-up communication processes between the UAS, the research stations, the field-level extension functionaries, the Contact Farmers and other farmers. How well this communication functions, will be a key question pursued in Section 5.

Provision of agricultural inputs. At the block level there is a plethora of agencies for the supply of physical inputs. The Taluk Agricultural Produce Co-operative and Marketing Society (TAPCMS) supplies agricultural inputs such as seed, fertilizer, insecticides, etc. to the primary co-operatives for sale to the farmers. Also, there are area offices of several firms, both in private and public sectors. The Karnataka State Seed Corporation, the National Seed Corporation, as well as several private companies have their branches. In the case of fertilizer, pesticides, etc., similar arrangements are found. However, while the primary co-operatives are close to the clientèle, the farmers have to travel to the block headquarter for their requirements from other sources. The Assistant Director of Agriculture, the Manager of TAPCSM and BDO co-operate on 'Special Component Schemes' under which sprayers, fertilizers, pesticides, storage-bins, etc., are supplied to scheduled castes and tribal farmers.

Provision of credit. A number of funding agencies and institutions are involved in rural development at the ground level. The Primary Land Development Bank (PLDB) dispenses long-term loans for various agricultural development activities such as sinking wells, buying tractors, installing irrigation pump sets, etc. The PLDB also provides special loans for the economically backward sections of the people.

The block unit of the District Central Co-operative Bank advances loans through service co-operatives to individual members. Besides, there are local units of the nationalized banks, and in some blocks, of the State Bank of India. The development strategy evolved by these institutions comprises simultaneous supply of both finance and technical advice to the farmers. Recently, the National Bank for Agriculture and Rural Development has been set up with a view to refinancing and supervising the administration of rural credit.

Storage and marketing facilities. Equally important are warehousing, storage, and marketing facilities. The growth of marketing facilities, for instance, should match the rise in production caused by increasing use of improved technology, so as to reduce the dependance of farmers, particularly the small and marginal ones, upon exploitative trading practices by 'middle-men'. Similarly, there should be adequate connecting roads and not too far-away marketing centres in order to reduce transportation problems for the farmers.

A large number of agencies and institutions are involved in activities oriented towards delivery of agricultural inputs and services. This brings about the problem of synchronizing and co-ordinating their activities; the credit institutions including the co-operatives, for instance, have not yet undertaken any measures for linking credit to marketing. For the clientèle, particularly the

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uneducated rural poor, there is a critical problem of contacting so many spatially dispersed delivery points and securing the needed services.

In order to deal with these problems, a number of Farmers Service Societies (FSS) have been set up at block level to cater to the needs of the small and marginal farmers. Through this institution, an attempt is being made to provide the rural disadvantaged with integrated credit combined with a package of services. However, in the Channarayapatna *taluk*, where out of 42,207 cultivators the small and marginal farmers constitute 24,163, there is no FSS.

(ii) *The delivery system for development of local industries.* Since a large number of rural poor are unemployed and cannot be absorbed in agriculture, a recent strategy of development planning has been to train them in locally relevant industrial activities and to promote village and cottage industries. Of particular significance is the TRYSEM programme (Training Youth for Self-Employment) which was introduced during 1979–80.

In the industrial sector, as in agriculture, there is a manifest need for the activities to be synchronized in a proper time-sequence. These activities pertain to credit, inputs and raw materials, technical and managerial assistance and marketing. The District Industries Centre (DIC) is mainly responsible for developing industries in the rural areas. However, it is the block authority which performs the task of identifying the industry relevant to the block, and indicates it to the DIC. The Industrial Extension Officer (IEO), on the other hand, identifies the participants, and if specialized training is necessary, recommends their names for training at some industrial training centre.

Once technical clearance for the implementation of rural industry schemes is obtained from the DIC, the identified participants are put in touch with the banks who on the basis of technical reports sanction loans.

The DIC thus performs its rôle through a network of relationships with block authority, banks, and specialized institutions concerned with the development of cottage and small industries. The management of such relations is an extremely difficult task. It may, for instance, be possible to extend technical and financial assistance to the beneficiaries, but it is not always easy to ensure availability of bamboo and cane from the Forest Department throughout the year for them to manufacture cane and bamboo furniture or handicrafts.

(iii) *The delivery system for poverty-focused programmes.* As has already been said, the IRDP (Integrated Rural Development Programme) aims at raising families above the poverty line. There are several schemes which can be taken up under this programme. They must be technically feasible, economically viable and, more important, acceptable to the beneficiaries. The IRDP thus includes minor irrigation works, provision of agricultural implements and storage-bins, dairy development, distribution of milk animals, distribution of other animals, poultry, bullocks/bullock-carts, horticulture, rural industries and artisan programmes, etc.

An extremely crucial administrative step is the identification of target fam-

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ilies. For this a detailed survey of all households below the poverty line in the identified cluster is done. The Block Development Officer, with the assistance of VEWs and Village Accountants and in consultation with the financing institutions, then selects the beneficiaries from amongst the surveyed families.

The next step is identification and formulation of suitable economic programmes. For all able-bodied members of the selected beneficiary families a series of productive activities are programmed in order to enable them to be employed at an adequate income level. All these exercises are done by the Block Office and the Banks jointly. The result is the 'Cluster Credit Plan'.

The next step is to organize a one-day 'credit camp' for which all heads of the beneficiary families are called, in order to build up loan records in their names. All concerned block-level funtionaries and representatives of financial institutions attend. Loans which fall within the authority of the local bank managers are sanctioned then and there, while loan applications which fall outside their purview are referred to higher authorities.

All loans under IRDP are disbursed in kind only. Purchase Committees have been set up in every cluster, consisting of one representative each from DRDS, BDO's office, the Bank, and a representative from the concerned department (f.i. the Assistant Director of Animal Husbandry for purchase of animals, or the Assistant Director of Industries for schemes relating to cottage industries and rural artisans). The members of the committee are obliged to take along with them at least one beneficiary, in whose presence all purchases are made.

At the block level a detailed monitoring is provided for. For this purpose, an identity-cum-monitoring card (IMC) has been devised. At the time of loan disbursal, one copy in the form of a Pass Book is handed over to the beneficiary. Two more copies are given to the Bank and the BDO. Other copies of printed-postcard size are distributed to village-level functionaries of the revenue, agriculture and development departments. These cards are used for reporting to DRDS about any problems that may come to their notice.

Problems of integration

The foregoing analysis shows that at the block level there exists an extremely heterogeneous and complex organizational structure with multiple delivery channels. Actually, the block-level units are the lower limbs of various vertically-set institutions based on functional specialization. Each of them has an independent chain of command. Each of them has its own history, and its own institutional culture. Obviously, stupendous problems of organizational integration arise.

In agricultural development, extension is not effective unless it can be related to timely and adequate availability of inputs. While, on the one hand, there are several input-delivery channels, on the other, there is no institutional mechanism for their synchronization and for relating input-supply to extension.

The credit organization, too, does not seem to respond adequately to the field problems of agricultural or industrial production. The IRD programme requires disbursement of Rs 1.8 million of gross loans per year in every block.

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There are only eight bank branches including the co-operative ones in Channarayapatna *taluk*. So each branch has to handle over 200,000 Rupees of loan per year. The large achievement-gap found every year is due, mainly, to meagre staffing of the financial institutions and to their security-oriented culture which prevents them from assigning priority to the IRD programme. Thirdly, credit and non-credit dimensions of rural development are not linked in a mutually supportive way. There are only three regulated markets in the Channarayapatna *taluk*, and this number has remained constant over a certain period, notwithstanding the steady rise in agricultural production. In consequence, the bulk of agricultural produce, particularly of the small and the marginal farmers, is marketed in the village itself, and the 'middle-men' are there to buy at low prices. Hence, the virtual de-linking of institutional finance and marketing results in maintaining a traditional system which deprives the rural poor of the fruits of their labour. Such instances can be multiplied: in Channarayapatna *taluk*, because of a severe power shortage it is frequently impossible to energize the pump sets for which loans have been sanctioned. Similarly, the sanction of milk animal/animal husbandry loans is frequently not matched by availability of sheep, goats or cross-breed cows locally, or veterinary facilities within easy reach of the beneficiaries' households.

Also, this complicated organization with numerous institutional linkages has the effect of confusing the mostly illiterate and impoverished rural poor. They experience great difficulties in locating the necessary agencies and institutions, and securing their services in the exact sequence required. As there is no Farmer's Service Society in Channarayapatna *taluk*, and as the block-level organization has lately been curtailed in terms of both rôle and personnel, the problem of co-ordination both at organizational and clientèle levels has assumed critical proportions.

Looking at the delivery system for rural development as a whole, it becomes clear that the high degree of differentiation is not matched by a desirable level of integration. The 'linking-pins' in the form of Block Development Agency and the District Rural Development Society are not generally effective. The problem is one of the BDO extracting work from the staff of the various departments and institutions at the block level. Firstly, the BDO has no direct control over them. Secondly, his administrative rank is relatively low, and he sometimes receives a lower salary than the staff of specific departments. Lastly, the block agency has now a depleted staff too weak to ensure continuous supervision and effective co-ordination.

At the higher level, the DRDS, as we know, is intended as a co-ordinator and integrator. However, the resources at the disposal of the DRDS are not sufficient. Only the subsidy component of the total loan volume is directly controlled by the DRSD. Besides, the DRSD staff is too small to undertake efficiently the task of co-ordination and supervision, particularly when its purview of work is as wide as the district, and it has no block-level staff. However, a marked advantage of the DRSD over the earlier SFDA is that the project director generally belongs to the Indian Administrative Service.

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Thus the delivery system for rural development tends to be piecemeal and fragmentary, and there is no organizational machinery at the block level to reinforce the delicate institutional linkages.

All this emphasizes the need for an administrative organization at the block level which comprises as large a segment of the whole task as possible. Equally needed is a simple and transparent administrative structure which is likely to sort out the villager's problems of locating the right agency.

The existing Block Development Agency should, without doubt, be reformed in this sense. Even now, and in spite of its depleted staff and limited functions, it is able to elicit a wide measure of popular response. The Block Development Officer is a widely known functionary and is considered by the villagers as a major catalyst of rural development.

3. Profile of life in Yaliyur village cluster

This section presents a descriptive account of the life of 422 families of respondents in the villages comprising the Yaliyur cluster. The purpose is to build up a profile of the area, the people who live there, their social and economic characteristics, potential for development, etc., which will be helpful to better understand the dynamics of their participation in the rural development process.

The families

A great majority of families in Yaliyur cluster are of the nuclear type. They form 87.20 per cent of the total. Families with a traditional or joint family structure are very small in number. Curiously, it is observed that there are relatively more joint families amongst those of higher-middle and high-educational status.

The heads of households in the Yaliyur cluster belong to all age-groups ranging from below 20 years of age to over 60 years. Most respondents are in the age-group 41 to 50 years. All have reported that they were born in the Yaliyur cluster of villages. The rôle of in-migration is, in other words, very limited. The mother-tongue of all respondents is Kannada, the regional language of the state.

Families where the health condition of either husband or wife is critical or bad are exceptions. 375 out of 422 families have couples eligible for family planning; 35.73 per cent of them have accepted the family-planning programme. Acceptance is relatively lower in the low-educational-status families (29.56 per cent). In three out of four cases, it is the wife who has been sterilized and not the husband. In other words, tubectomy is much more popular than vasectomy. This may be due to the general belief that sterilization affects the working efficiency of a person.

There are 234 children below 6 years of age in the Yaliyur cluster, a majority of them in families with lower-middle (50.85 per cent) or low educational status (29.91 per cent). A bit more than half of them are girls. In the age-range 6 to

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14, there are 540 children. Their distribution across low, lower-middle, higher-middle and high educational-status families is 29.25 per cent, 39.44 per cent, 25.18 per cent and 6.11 per cent, respectively.

Caste and local power structures

The caste-status of an individual, which is based on birth and kinship, plays a crucial rôle in the rural development process. It is one of the key intervening variables, as far as access to development opportunities and benefits is concerned. There are numerous castes and sub-castes in Indian society. Certain groups are considered as backward and hence eligible for government-sponsored development benefits. Apart from the backward castes, there are groups which are declared as deserving special treatment according to the constitution of India. They are called Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes (SC and ST). The percentage of SC population in Karnataka is 13.14 per cent (1971 data) (India, 14.60 per cent), that of ST population is 0.79 per cent (India 6.94 per cent).

A great majority of the respondents in the Yaliyur cluster, 79.38 per cent, have a backward caste status. There are, in addition, 6.16 per cent scheduled castes and 1.18 per cent scheduled tribes. 13.28 per cent of the respondents belong to the forward castes. Because of this strong concentration of backward castes, one may expect a heavy pressure on access to development opportunities from this group.

Of the 31 scheduled-caste/scheduled-tribe households, 24 report an annual income of less than 5,000 rupees. In 19 of them, the household head is illiterate. But illiteracy is equally common (5 out of 7) in the households reporting a yearly income of more than 5,000 rupees.

Though there is a single dominant caste in the village, and though caste can be a very effective unifying social force in rural areas, it tends to be a negative factor in this particular village. Leadership is split between two leaders, both of them members of the dominant agricultural caste of the region. One of them is a very well-to-do farmer, the only one who uses a tractor to cultivate his land in the whole cluster. He is over sixty years of age and lives in the main village of the cluster. He was formerly the President of the *panchayat*. He is literate without formal education. It is alleged that this rich farmer and his family have been cultivating an endowment land belonging to the village temple for a long time, and that of late they have appropriated it for themselves. This act has estranged the rich landlord from a sizeable section of the village.

Another well-to-do farmer of the village belonging to the same dominant caste provides a parallel leadership. He is at present the President of the Dairy Co-operative Society and happens to be the outgoing President of the village *panchayat*. He is middle-aged and has secondary education. Another interesting sidelight about leadership in the cluster is that a high-caste Bramin has taken over as President of the *panchayat* from the Dairy Society President. When in 1980 a *panchayat* president had to be elected, there was a tie between the Brahmin and the dominant-caste person. The village leaders arrived at the

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consensus that both of them should enjoy a term of two-and-a-half years each. The Brahmins form a numerical minority in the cluster. But the parallel dominant-caste leader could not unite the people behind him, as it is alleged that he lent money to a scheduled-caste person who is not in a position to return the loan and the interest either now or in the foreseeable future. As such he may not be able to redeem his land. A section of the villagers are agitated about this deal.

Education

A majority of the respondents in the study are literate. They constitute 63.27 per cent of the Yaliyur population. There has been a phenomenal increase in the percentage of literate population in the Yaliyur cluster, from 38.76 per cent in 1971 to 63.27 per cent in 1982. 70.41 per cent of those who are literate have acquired primary education, 21.87 per cent have completed secondary education, and 3.36 per cent have higher education.

Among the literate and educated respondents, those who have gone out of their villages or the block for schooling are very few: only around 5 per cent received their education outside the block, but within the district.

The study also examined the average educational status of families, defined as the summated educational scores of each member in the family beyond the age of 6. Four categorizations of families are made: low status (both husband and wife illiterate, children not participating in schools), lower-middle status (at least one of the couple, usully the head of household, has primary education, wife may or may not be able to read and write, children's participation in schooling is better), upper- or higher-middle status (both husband and wife have primary education or husband has secondary education and wife also may or may not have primary education, and participation of children in schooling is quite good), and finally high-status families (where both husband and wife have a minimum of primary education, perhaps husband has higher education and all children go to school).

Analysing the educational status of families in Yaliyur cluster along these lines, it is observed that families with high educational status are very few. They are hardly 5.21 per cent of the total. Families with low educational status form 31.99 per cent of the total. Hence a majority of the families belong to the middle level. Out of them, 37.91 per cent belong to lower-middle, and 24.88 per cent to the higher-middle educational-status category.

312 out of the 540 children aged 6 to 14, i.e. 57.77 per cent, are attending a school. It is only in low-educational-status families that more than half the children do not attend school. However, even in these families a higher proportion of boys than girls attend. Girls' education is highly neglected in low-educational-status families.

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The situation of women

A great majority of women (87.10 per cent) are illiterates. All the scheduled-caste women are illiterate.

Likewise, 91.91 per cent of agricultural labourers among women are illiterates. For every primary-educated woman among agricultural labourers (11 out of 136) there are two housewives with primary education (42 out of 275). Two-thirds of all women are housewives. A housewife in rural areas does not do cooking only. Invariably, she has her hands full with work, such as looking after the cattle, cleaning and maintenance of cattle-shed, poultry farming, looking after sheep at home, cleaning the agricultural produce, grinding flour, unpaid farm labour etc.

Working women are mostly from the families of marginal and small farmers while most housewives are from the families of big farmers. There is also a distinct, positive relationship between women's education and household income.

Occupation, land-holding, and agriculture

A great majority of respondents are engaged in farm work. Those who have nothing to do with agriculture constitute hardly 5 per cent of the total.

62.10 per cent of all farmers cultivate their own land. They neither depend on labour from outside nor do they go out for wage-labour. However, 31.54 per cent of the respondents do not possess enough land to subsist. Hence they not only cultivate their own land but also undertake wage-labour in agriculture. Those respondents who own land, do not themselves cultivate it but engage paid labour, while supervising and monitoring all agricultural operations, i.e. the so-called well-to-do farmers, account for around 6.35 per cent.

Those who do not possess land in Yaliyur cluster of villages are exceptions. However, over two-thirds of the landowners in the cluster are marginal and small farmers.[1] This is a very relevant factor when it comes to the design and evaluation of rural development projects in agriculture as well as under IRDP. Only marginal and small farmers are eligible for most of the IRDP and agricultural projects.

It may be presumptuous to suggest and difficult to establish a relation between formal education and farm management. One cannot definitively say that, other things being equal, a farmer with primary education will be able to manage his farm better than an illiterate farmer and get better yields. However, given this reservation, it is interesting to look at land-holding in the context of formal education.

The percentages of illiteracy among marginal, small and big farmers are 49.21, 39.61 and 22.55 respecively. Whether as a cause or as an effect, the size

1. Marginal holding means less than one hectare of cultivable land and small-holding means a holding in the range of one to two hectares. Land beyond this limit is considered as a big farm. Cultivable land means dry land, the conversion rate being 1 hectare of wet land to 2 hectares of dry land. The classification of land as dry or wet depends upon the type of crop grown along with the source and availability of irrigation.

145
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of land-holdings is positively associated with the formal schooling a farmer has received.

Wages for agricultural labour range from less than three rupees to seven rupees and more. Over 91.00 per cent of the agricultural labourers get anywhere between three rupees and six rupees per day as wages.

However, the wages paid to men are much higher than for women, though in absolute terms both are very low indeed. It may be noted in passing that 136 women (32.22 per cent) and 58 children (13.74 per cent) from these 422 homes go for wage-labour in agriculture. 47.79 per cent of the women and 65.51 per cent of the children earn less than three rupees per day. The incidence of school-age children doing paid labour is not, as one might have expected, inversely related with the educational status of the family.

The majority (50.86 per cent) of agricultural labourers have to walk a distance of more than three kilometres for work. This is true in the case of women also.

Income and financial liabilities

The annual income of a household in the Yaliyur cluster ranges from a paltry figure of less than five hundred rupees to a relatively good figure of more than fifteen thousand rupees.[1] 29 families in Yaliyur cluster live in a state of acute and perpetual poverty, earning less than 1,000 rupees a year. Five out of these 29 families have an income which is lower than 500 rupees.

The total number of families getting an annual income below five thousand rupees is 284 (67.29 per cent). In other words, two out of every three families in Yaliyur cluster get an income equal to or below the figure of income set by the government for eligibility to most of the government-sponsored development programmes in rural areas. These are the families which are considered as economically backward. Consequently, the competition for benefits under the various development programmes should be quite high.

The income distribution in Yaliyur cluster is bi-modal in nature. There are two peak points, one in the range 2,001 to 3,000, and the other in the range 5,001 to 10,000. This shows a distribution which is far from equity. The value of Gini's coefficient obtained from the computer is 0.59576.

In relation with income, the study also examined the extent to which families had taken out financial loans. Whether raising a loan is a liability, or on the contrary a sign of economic vigour and enterprise, is a debatable question. The answer depends upon the purpose for which the loan is raised. For instance, if it is meant for the purchase of modern agricultural equipment, purchase of cattle, digging a borewell, purchase of bullocks, etc., the purpose is to augment production, and a loan by itself will not be a liability. On the other hand, if the loan is raised for consumption (during drought or otherwise), for performing

1. The income data analysed in the present study are not directly reported by the respondents, but computed by the researchers, based on information about their produce during the previous year and any additional income from wage-labour, cattle, dairying, poultry, sheep-tending, household industry, etc.

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the marriage of a dependant, for repair of the house, due to ill-health of a family member, etc., then it is definitely a liability, however worthy the cause may be.

It appears that the villagers raise loans more for the second category of purposes than the first type. This feeling is based on informal discussions with the villagers about the utilization of the loans they had raised. This being said, only 127 respondents (30 per cent) have raised any loans at all. This may either be because the others do not need loans, or because they are not loanworthy.

The Kaveri Grameena Bank, a rural bank sponsored by the State Bank of Mysore, was set up at Yaliyur in 1981. An examination of their records revealed that only 71 loans had been advanced to residents of Yaliyur cluster. This fact implies that out of 127 respondents who have taken loans, more than 50 per cent have raised the loans from private money-lenders, whose interest rates are very high. The possibility of respondents taking loans from banking institutions outside the cluster cannot be ruled out, but is very unlikely. In fact, 168 out of 422, or nearly 40 per cent of respondents, do not even have an account in the local bank.

Membership in village organizations

There are two peoples' organizations in the Yaliyur cluster. One of them is the milk dairy co-operative society and the other the village *panchayat* or the local self-government organization.

There are 27 respondents in the Yaliyur cluster who are members of *panchayat*, the local self-government. Earlier the *panchayat* had been entrusted with a lot of development work. Of late, the powers of the local self-government at all levels have been drastically cut down and transferred to the bureaucracy. Now the *panchayat*s have largely an advisory rôle. They also assist the bureaucracy in identification of beneficiaries. Membership in the *panchayat* does not carry with it as much social status as it used to. Still, the members represent the people's choice.

There is a rule for reservation of seats in the local self-government for scheduled castes and tribes. Normally they do not come forward to contest, and will instead be nominated on the committee. In Yaliyur cluster, too, there are two SC/ST members.

The village co-operative society (the dairy society) has attracted quite a few members. Membership here is not by election. Every villager who has cattle and who is willing to sell his milk to the society on the terms and conditions laid down by the Society is eligible for membership. 42.41 per cent of the respondents are members of the village co-operative society. These members usually get loans from the bank to buy more cattle. They will repay the loan on a daily basis by selling milk to the society.

Radio listening habits

The radio is the single most effective and popular educational medium in rural India. It scores over television, the printed newspaper and other media in

147
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terms of coverage, cost, availability and demand in a country where the literacy rate is hardly 38 per cent. It is an inexpensive medium of nonformal education.

The nearest medium-wave radio station for Yaliyur cluster is the All India Radio, Bangalore. Bangalore station broadcasts several programmes of rural interest, such as farmers' programmes, youth and women's programmes, regional news etc., in Kannada, the regional language. Information about the development programmes in the state is well covered through the radio.

However, only 75 out of 422 families in the Yaliyur cluster, 17.77 per cent, own a radio. Those who do, have mostly an income of more than four thousand rupees. In other words, a great majority of villagers who are eligible for development benefits of the government do not own a radio. Further, only 13 out of 75 radio-owning respondents (17.33 per cent) are illiterates. Most others have at least primary education, and a sizable minority (25.33 per cent) have secondary and higher education.

One need not possess a radio to listen to radio programmes. Accordingly, respondents were questioned about their radio-listening habits (development-focused programmes, agriculture, regional news, etc.), irrespective of their owning a radio or not. Again, 74.17 per cent of respondents reported that they do not listen to the radio (either regularly or occasionally). Hence the exposure of the Yaliyur cluster population to development information through the radio is highly limited.

Development efforts 'from above'

In sum, people of the Yaliyur cluster of villages constitute a community whose developmental needs and aspirations are quite high. They are a relatively literate lot, mostly engaged in farming, on the look-out for opportunities for self-development. They live in nuclear families and are given to a life of hard labour on their own farm or in agricultural labour for others. Meanwhile, there have been visible signs of a complementary development effort 'from above'. A rural bank was established in 1981 to serve the people, and to assist the government in implementation of development programmes. The dairy co-operative society, too, was formed in 1981, and the IRDP programmes were promoted. The Training and Visit System of Extension Education in Agriculture was launched in 1980 in the cluster. Taken together, these details provide the context of rural development in Yaliyur village cluster which the following sections will analyse in greater depth.

4. Socio-economic correlates of formal education

One of the objectives of this study is to explore the association of formal school education with other aspects of rural life, social as well as economic.

The analytical technique employed for this purpose has been simple linear product-moment correlation, calculated on the basis of primary data collected from the 422 sample households. An inter-correlation matrix was established in

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this way, covering a total of 16 variables which are presented below. While we are mainly concerned with the rôle of school education, the matrix also allows the pinpointing of certain interesting relationships among non-educational variables.

The variables

Three educational variables figure in our analysis: firstly, the educational level of the household head, starting from illiterate up to professional and higher education; secondly, the educational level of the household head's wife, calculated in the same way; thirdly, the family's aggregate educational level, obtained by summing up the educational scores of all family members. The limitation which these variables entail is obvious: they fail to take into account either the quality and content of school education, or any nonformal education and training programmes a person may have attended. It is only in Section 6 that this study will attempt to throw some light on the rôle of nonformal education in rural development.

Variable 1.	*Household head's educational level*	*Score*
	Professional and higher education	5
	Higher-secondary education	4
	Secondary education	3
	Primary education	2
	Able to read and write	1
	Illiterate	0
Variable 2.	*Wife's educational level*	
	Same scores as Variable 1	
Variable 3.	*Family's aggregate educational level*	
	The family's educational level being equal to the sum of the individual scores of each member (as in variables 1 and 2), the scores obtained were re-classified as follows:	
	High (> 10.0)	3
	Higher middle (6.0 to 10.0)	2
	Lower middle (3.5 to 5.9)	1
	Low (< 3.5)	0

To these three educational variables, our analysis adds a group of six variables which might *a priori* be influenced by education:

Variable 4.	*Incidence of child labour*	
	Families that are not sending any of their children for paid labour	1
	Families that send one or several of their children for paid labour	0
Variable 5.	*Number of children*	
	Exact number	
Variable 6.	*Sterilization status of the family*	
	Father or mother sterilized	1
	None of them sterilized	0

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Variable 7.	*Health status of the family*	
	Mother and father well	2
	One parent well, the other unwell	1
	Mother and father both unwell	0
Variable 8.	*Indebtedness*	
	Families not having any debts	1
	Families having debts	0
Variable 9.	*Membership in village organizations*	
	Member of any village organization	1
	Not member of any village organization	0

These are complemented by a further group of seven variables which, together, characterize a family's social status, structure and earning capacity:

Variable 10.	*Caste*	
	Dominant caste group	4
	Forward caste group	3
	Backward castes	2
	Scheduled castes	1
Variable 11.	*Income*	
	Actual *per capita* income in Rupees	
Variable 12.	*Land-holding*	
	Actual *per capita* land-holding in acres	
Variable 13.	*Occupational status*	
	Owning land and getting it cultivated	7
	Cultivating own land	6
	Cultivating own land and working as agricultural labourer	5
	Job holder	4
	Skilled labourer	3
	Services	2
	Unskilled labourer	1
Variable 14.	*Farmer/Non-farmer (recoded version of Variable 13)*	
	Farmer	1
	Non-farmer	0
Variable 15.	*Earning members in the family*	
	More than one earning member	2
	Only one earning member	1
	No earning member	0
Variable 16.	*Type of family*	
	Nuclear	1
	Traditional	0

Before interpreting the correlations obtained between these 16 variables, certain limitations in the data basis have to be pointed out. Problems of data validity as well as reliability remain. For instance, the variables 'health' and 'caste' are not fully reliable: the first is based on replies from respondents rather than objective evidence, while the second follows the classification of

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the Government without ascertaining the situation of each individual household. Similarly, the variable 'membership in village organizations' lacks in validity, considering that social status does not come through mere membership, but depends on the office held, the degree of actual participation, etc. Furthermore, the variable 'indebtedness' remains ambivalent as long as the reasons for which a loan has been taken out are unknown.

Owing to such imperfections, the following analysis should be considered tentative. In particular, care should be taken not to equate statistical correlations with cause-effect relationships.

Interpretation of findings

There are 16 variables and 422 observations on which we built the inter-correlation-matrix which is presented in Table 7. It provides for 120 correlations between the 16 variables. Pearson's correlation coefficient r is considered to be significant at the 5 per cent level if its value exceeds 0.095, and at 1 per cent level if it is above 0.126. As the number of observations in our sample is relatively large, the 1 per cent level of significance has been retained.

It is of interest to see, first of all, how the three educational variables are related amongst themselves. There is, to begin with, a very strong positive relationship between the educational level of the household head and that of the whole family. The household head apparently plays a key rôle in ensuring that other family members promote their education. His wife has much less influence in this respect. Some 87 per cent of wives are illiterate anyway; the correlation with family's aggregate level of education thus remains insignificant. Between the education of the household head and that of his wife, there is equally little relationship. Educated men in Yaliyur village do not seem to insist on marrying educated women. What seems to matter much more are the skills of women in farm work, and of course their caste and economic background. Little value is attached to the education of rural women. As the significant correlations of wife's education with caste and economic/occupational variables indicate, education has traditionally been reserved for women from high-caste groups and well-to-do families.

The analysis now turns to the group of variables (4 to 9) which, in the literature about rural development, are often thought to be open to educational influences. Yaliyur village, however, does not seem to correspond to any preconceived ideas in this respect: the formal education of household head, wife or the family as a whole, accounts neither for a lesser number of children, for a more ready acceptance of sterilization, nor for better health. The correlation of all three educational variables with number of children, for instance, turns out to be insignificantly positive instead of negative. Whether a couple accepts sterilization depends not on their education, but on whether they consider they have a sufficient number of children already; this explains the somewhat surprising positive relationship between variables 5 and 6. The absence of any significant correlation between education and health may, on the other hand, be due to the relative weakness of health data in this survey.

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TABLE 7. Inter-correlation matrix

No.	Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6
1	Head's education level	1.0000					
2	Wife's education level	− 0.0372	1.0000				
3	Family's education level	0.5936	0.0849	1.0000			
4	Incidence of child labour	0.0633	0.0600	0.1146	1.0000		
5	Number of children	0.0398	0.0552	0.0604	− 0.0696	1.0000	
6	Sterilization status	0.1235	0.0479	0.0603	− 0.0521	0.1966	1.0000
7	Health status	− 0.0729	0.0332	− 0.1197	0.0852	− 0.0063	0.0721
8	Indebtedness	− 0.0859	− 0.0920	− 0.1593	0.1412	− 0.1173	− 0.1645
9	Member of village organization	0.0550	0.0450	0.2047	− 0.0556	− 0.0060	0.1167
10	Caste	0.1074	0.1465	0.1074	0.1401	− 0.0140	0.0988
11	Income *per capita*	0.2766	0.1882	0.3509	0.1236	− 0.1532	− 0.0612
12	Land-holding *per capita*	0.1956	0.4583	0.3045	0.1638	− 0.1817	− 0.0739
13	Occupational status	0.0536	0.1489	0.1558	0.2571	0.0034	0.0090
14	Farmer/non-farmer	0.3074	− 0.4790	0.3437	0.0315	0.2622	0.0657
15	No. of earning members	− 0.1526	− 0.1263	− 0.2265	− 0.3698	0.0854	0.0525
16	Type of family	0.0152	− 0.1308	− 0.1069	0.1053	− 0.0719	0.0333

Education has, likewise, no significant influence on the incidence of child labour (variable 4). Whether or not children of school-going age have to work on the farm is determined more by economic and social circumstances, such as the caste status, size of land-holdings and family occupation.

Noteworthy is the significant relationship between education and the probability that a rural family may raise loans (variable 8). The greater awareness of credit opportunities that comes with education, or the fact that educated families are considered more loan-worthy, may explain this. Interestingly, the correlation matrix confirms that it tends to be members of village organizations, of higher caste status, higher income and owning more land, who have easier access to credit.

Finally, education turns out to be significantly correlated with membership in village organizations (variable 9). We shall see later in this study that formal education also seems to be the key to participation in nonformal education and training programmes. Together, these findings underscore the importance of schooling for rural development based on popular participation.

The variables which indicate the social status, structure and earning capacity of a rural family are, for the most part, positively linked to the level of formal education achieved. One is tempted to conclude that in Yaliyur village, socio-economic status largely conditions the opportunities for formal schooling. For the significant correlation between caste status and wife's education, for instance, this conclusion is difficult to dispute. But with respect to other variables, such as income, land-holding and occupational status, it is possible to view school education both as an effect and a causal factor; indeed, the observed correlation might be entirely due to a third factor, e.g. a family's traditional position in the village hierarchy, which does not appear in our analysis.

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7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
1.0000									
0.0782	1.0000								
− 0.0449	− 0.1273	1.0000							
− 0.0092	− 0.1691	0.0507	1.0000						
− 0.0299	− 0.0166	0.0931	0.1099	1.0000					
− 0.0309	− 0.0144	0.0538	0.1051	0.6125	1.0000				
0.0275	− 0.0087	0.0857	0.1147	0.0762	0.2281	1.0000			
− 0.0906	− 0.1155	0.1086	0.1404	0.2628	0.1659	0.1103	1.0000		
0.0906	− 0.0601	0.0225	− 0.1258	− 0.1534	− 0.2580	− 0.2495	− 0.0622	1.0000	
− 0.0413	0.1300	− 0.1055	0.0922	− 0.0796	− 0.0544	0.0263	− 0.1407	− 0.1190	1.0000

The number of earning members in a family (variable 15), thought to be an economic asset, turns out to be negatively correlated with most other variables, including education, land-holding, income and occupational status. The not so obvious explanation is that the number of earning members is higher in poor rural families where in addition to husband and wife, children are sent to work as well. Their school attendance thus tends to be low and the family's status in respect of health and socio-economic conditions is accordingly poor. Likewise, the highly significant relationship with variable 4 (incidence of child labour) starts making sense.

5. Nonformal education in rural development: a closer look at two programmes

Planning and management of education within integrated rural development projects need to be studied from two complementary perspectives: one of them refers to the view from above, the structural-organizational perspective; the other perspective is the one from below, the one presenting the clientèle's point of view. It is from this clientèle perspective, therefore, that two development programmes which are essentially programmes of nonformal education and training are examined here.

The Training and Visit System of Agricultural Extension

The 'Training and Visit System of Extension Education in Agriculture' has already been briefly described. This programme, popularly known as the T and V system, is sponsored and assisted by the World Bank in several countries of the world. Karnataka State in India adopted the T and V system in 1979.

153 BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Writing about it, Robert S. McNamara, the former President of the World Bank, observed that: '... (the objective of this programme)... is to improve and expand agricultural extension through an intensive system of training and visits, and, thus, to reach a large number of farmers quickly with advice covering the entire production cycle. The cost of such service is relatively small. The results are highly visible, and bolster the farmers' self-confidence and pride in their work. The scheme can also help assure that other investments in agriculture achieve their potential' (Benor and Harrison, 1977).

Farmers who are relatively young, dynamic, and receptive to innovations form the target group of the T and V system. They are called 'Contact Farmers'. Representing (at least in theory) different cross-sections and interest groups of rural society in terms of land-holding, income, caste, age, etc., they are to be the linking-pins between the organizational framework for rural development, especially the T and V System, and the rural population. They are in other words the change-agents in rural areas.

We present on the following pages the results of detailed interviews with the Contact Farmers (CF), Assistant Director of Agriculture (ADA), and Agricultural Assistants (AA) in the study area. This area was chosen so as to comprise two adjacent ranges, Yaliyur and Baladare. Each of these has a different story to tell as far as the T and V system is concerned. In Yaliyur, most of the 31 CF figuring on the ADA's official list were not at all aware of the programme nor of the rôle assigned to them; the T and V system had apparently been implemented in a very half-hearted way. In the neighbouring range of Baladare, on the other hand, excellent work was being done according to the ADA. Hence, it was tempting to examine what factors accounted for the programme's success in one context, and for its failure in an apparently similar one. The results of this analysis are presented separately for the CF of Yaliyur and Baladare, as well as for the area as a whole.

The profile of Contact Farmers

We analyse here the profile of the 66 Contact Farmers in Baladare and Yaliyur with two main questions in mind: firstly, what distinguishes the active and functioning group of CFs in Baladare from the inactive group in Yaliyur who are hardly aware of their being Contact Farmers? Secondly, what distinguishes Contact Farmers in general from the household heads interviewed in Yaliyur village cluster?

While a considerable majority of CF in Baladare are young and belong to all cross-sections of the village society, a majority of CF in Yaliyur are rather old and belong to either the dominant or the forward caste. Some 77 per cent of CFs live in nuclear families. Traditional family structures thus seem to be more common among them than in the general household sample (87.2 per cent of nuclear type).

Though most CF in Baladare have primary education (20 out of 35), there is also an illiterate (1), and quite a few with secondary education (10), higher, technical and professional education (1 each).

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In contrast, the CF in Yaliyur range have, on the whole, a somewhat lower level of education. While 22 out of 31 are primary-educated, there are five secondary-level-educated and four illiterate CF. In comparison with the overall household survey, Contact Farmers are a distinctly better-educated group.

Also, the families of Contact Farmers have higher levels of school education than the average household (see Table 8).

TABLE 8. Comparison of educational status (percentages)

Educational status of families	Contact Farmers	Yaliyur households
Low	10.6	32.0
Lower-middle	40.9	37.9
Higher-middle	39.4	24.9
High	9.1	5.5

The difference is particularly apparent in the low as well as in the higher-middle educational-status categories.

As far as the educational level of the wives is concerned, illiteracy predominates; however, the picture is slightly more positive in Baladare than among the wives of Yaliyur households.

The CF in both Baladare and Yaliyur are engaged in farming. While 29 out of 35 CF in Baladare cultivate their own land, the figure for Yaliyur is 24 out of 31. There are five CF in Baladare as well as Yaliyur whose main occupation is agricultural labour though they have small pieces of land. There is also, in both Baladare and Yaliyur ranges, the typical landlord CF, who owns land and gets it cultivated.

Twenty-eight out of 35 CF in Baladare and 29 out of 31 CF in Yaliyur have more than ten years of experience in farm work.

All Contact Farmers in Baladare and Yaliyur have at least one acre of land. There are a few who have more than 20 acres. The distribution is, however, skewed in favour of larger-sized holdings in Baladare.

It is important, in this connection, to find out how many CFs are marginal, small and big farmers. Marginal and small farmers are not only trained in scientific methods of cultivation under the T and V system, but are also eligible for subsidies, loans and many other developmental opportunities. Nineteen out of 31 CF in Yaliyur and six out of 36 in Baladare belong to the marginal and small-farmer category. There are, in other words, substantially more big farmers amongst the CFs in Baladare—the range where, it will be recalled, the T and V programme is functioning much more effectively than in Yaliyur. Compared with the overall proportion of marginal and small farmers in our larger household sample, which is 67.79 per cent, Contact Farmers are, on the whole, biased towards bigger land-holdings.

Next to Ragi and Paddy, practically all CF in Baladare and Yaliyur grow coconut. Given the importance of coconut as a cash crop, it is all the more absurd to learn that the T and V system as managed by the Department of

155 BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Agriculture excludes coconut—because it falls under the jurisdiction of the Department of Horticulture.

There are only a few CF in Baladare range whose income falls below 5,000 rupees per annum. Their proportion is higher in the Yaliyur range. But in comparison with the overall household sample, where no less than 67.29 per cent had an annual income below Rs 5,000 per year, Contact Farmers are economically much better-off.

Furthermore, in contrast to Yaliyur range (3 out of 31) there are quite a few CF (13 out of 35) in Baladare whose income exceeds 15,000 rupees per annum.

Finally, the CFs are invariably members of one or the other village organizations such as the village *panchayat,* the Coil Corporation Society, the Dairy Society, the Farmers Co-operative Society, the Youth Club, etc.

Compared with the overall household sample, where only 6.4 per cent were members of *panchayat,* and 42.4 per cent had joined the Dairy Society, Contact Farmers are clearly more prone to participating in development organizations at the grass-roots level.

Selection of Contact Farmers: theory and reality

The CF is the centre of all nonformal educational activity in the process of rural and particularly agricultural development. It is to him that the elaborate, time-consuming and complex T and V System is geared. It is through him that the entire village community is to catch up with new knowledge, scientific skills, and modern attitudes with respect to agricultural practices. Hence the selection, rôle-definition, and performance of the CF is crucial to the rural development process.

It is in this light that the guidelines for selection of Contact Farmers have to be looked into. This is all the more important as the village society is a heterogeneous one in terms of land-holding, income, educational level, etc. Only in terms of caste and occupation is there some homogeneity.

With these considerations in mind, the Government of India has laid down certain guidelines[1] for selection of Contact Farmers. They stress, *inter alia,* three important principles of selection: firstly, that the village people themselves should participate in the selection of CF; secondly, that the CF should be experienced and practising farmers; and thirdly, that they should include a fair representation of both small, medium, and big farmers.

(a) *Principle of peoples' participation.* The first principle of selection of CF is that the 'selection of CF may be left to the farmers themselves'. This highly democratic directive has been flouted. In the case of Yaliyur, the CF have been selected by the ADA's office and their list has been kept without even informing, let alone regularly meeting, a great majority of them. In contrast, at Baladare, all the CF are aware of their function. But in 29 out of 35 cases it is

1. Directive issued by the Director of Agriculture, Karnataka State, on 11.6.1979, and addressed, amongst others, to the Deputy Director of Agriculture in Hassan District.

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the Agricultural Assistant who simply informed them that they were to be CFs. The AAO added five more to the list, and the village leader got another one included. None of them has thus been genuinely elected.

(b) *Principle of practical experience.* All Contact Farmers except one are practising farmers. All of them have landed interests. Ragi and Coconut cultivation are popular among almost all the CF. However, as we pointed out briefly above, the T and V system planned and managed by the Department of Agriculture covers only Ragi and Paddy. Coconut, practised by virtually all farmers, is left out. It falls under the jurisdiction of the Department of Horticulture. There is no co-ordination of functions at the grass-roots level between the field staff of the Departments of Agriculture and Horticulture. The general feeling is that it is 'not required'.

(c) *Principle of representativity.* It is proposed that due representation should be given to small and medium farmers when selecting CF. The CF are supposed to influence the farmers around them by applying and transferring the knowledge and skills transmitted to them by the AA. Hence the Contact Farmers should be from all cross-sections with respect to land-holding.

However, the distribution of CF in Baladare is skewed in favour of large-sized holders. Twenty-nine out of 35 CF in Baladare own more than five acres of land. Big farmers in Yaliyur (more than 5 acres) are only 12 out of 31.

The principle of representativity has been better observed in the Yaliyur range where T and V is not managed well, whereas it has been flouted in the Baladare range where the programme is better managed. Thus, paradoxically, the T and V system is planned well where it is not properly implemented, and it is implemented and managed better where it is not properly planned.

For the agricultural field staff, there are many advantages in concentrating on big farmers. They are better educated and earn a relatively better income. They are more receptive to what the AA may propose. They can take risks by following new agricultural practices. Considerations of costs of inputs and services do not weigh as much with them as they may do in the case of marginal and small farmers. They will have more business or other transactions at the town or block headquarters. They will thus carry a 'good' impression of the work of the AA to his superior officers and others who matter. They may have links with administrative and politically powerful persons. In short, they are the people who 'matter' in rural areas.

What will be the overall effect on rural development of this concentration on big farmers? The big farmers will be able to increase their productivity and income by applying the lessons of new agricultural technology. In fact, it is quite possible that overall food production due to big farmers may increase more quickly. At the same time, the marginal and small farmers, whether they are contact or follow farmers, tend to withdraw from or ignore the T and V system. They will begin to think that it is meant only for the big farmers who have the means of investment to match the T and V suggestions. In this way,

157 BEST COPY AVAILABLE

the objectives of the T and V system will ultimately be defeated. Further, the gap between the haves and the have-nots, the landed gentry and the poor marginal and small farmers, will increase. The objective of equity will thus remain a distant dream.

(d) *Other principles.* The selection of CF with respect to other principles such as that of social status, receptivity to new ideas, representation of diverse agro-technical conditions, enthusiastic entrepreneurship etc., have all been by and large observed in both ranges. The CF are members of village organizations and belong to all ages, two out of three CF in Baladare being young or middle-aged. It is only in Yaliyur that a majority of CF listed in the ADA's office tend to be older and, in a few cases, even very old.

Responsiveness to new agricultural practices

There are many aspects of farming which go to make up the package of new agricultural practices: soil-testing and selection of crops on the basis of its results; use of new seeds and chemicals for treatment of seeds; spacing of cultivable land; systematic preparation of seed-beds and transplantation in case of a few crops; use of fertilizers and manures in correct proportion; adoption of preventive measures to check crop diseases; use of appropriate pesticides in correct proportion in case of affectation of crops; use of weedicides; use of modern agricultural implements; improved practices in regard to storage of grains, etc. The farmers' responsiveness to all these dimensions of modernized agriculture is essential for the success of the Green Revolution. The farmers' response in turn depends upon two things: (i) farmers' socio-economic characteristics, their motivation, abilities, etc. and (ii) the management and monitoring of the T and V programme at the grass-roots level, and its co-ordination with other developmental opportunities in the form of subsidies and loans for inputs and services. It is these latter aspects that are being looked into now.

(a) *CF response to soil testing.* None of the CF in Yaliyur had had his soil tested, whereas in Baladare 15 out of 35 CF have done so. Among these 15 CF, 13 have an annual income of over 5,000 rupees. In most cases it was the Agricultural Assistant who had the soil tested for the CF. Twelve out of the 15 subsequently planned their cropping pattern on this basis.

(b) *The tiller's weapon.* The most common, inexpensive and popular weapon in the hands of the Indian farmer is the plough made of wood. It is attached to the centre of a balancing log of wood carried at the two ends by a pair of bullocks. While the bullocks are driven by the farmer the pointed edge ploughs the land. There have been several improvements of this traditional plough. For a few years now the plough made of steel has been recommended, marketed and popularized through the Department of Agriculture. It is sold at subsidized rates for marginal and small farmers and agricultural labourers.

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Yet, only two CF in Baladare and one CF in Yaliyur use exclusively the modernized steel plough. Another 23 CF in Baladare and 14 in Yaliyur use it along with the traditional plough. There are still ten CF in Baladare out of 35 and 11 in Yaliyur out ouf 31 who depend exclusively on the traditional plough.

The educational level of the CF has nothing to do with the use of the traditional plough. But several CF who use the traditional plough in Yaliyur belong to low-income groups. Furthermore, it is mostly the CF who belong to the SC and ST category in terms of caste-status who use the traditional plough.

All the 25 CF in Baladare who use the modern plough have been motivated by the AA. In Yaliyur the CF are motivated from several sources, the Agricultural Assistant being only one of them.

Finally, it is interesting to observe that though 40 CF use the modern plough for cultivation, only two of them have obtained a subsidy to purchase it.

(c) *Seeds of progress*. The quantity of food produced also depends upon the quality of seeds, and the way they are used. Twenty-eight out of 35 CF in Baladare prepare the seed-bed for paddy and coconut cultivation as per the guidelines of the Department of Agriculture. There are still six CF who do it in their traditional way. In contrast, at Yaliyur range 22 out of 31 CF prepare the seed-bed in a traditional way.

However, a majority of CF in both ranges have recognized the value of high-yielding varieties of seeds. Thirty out of 35 CF in Baladare and 20 out of 31 CF in Yaliyur use the HYV.

It should be recalled in passing that quite a few farmers in Yaliyur range had used improved seeds a few years earlier and got a better than normal yield. They tried to retain a small portion of this yield for purposes of seeding in the following crop season, but could not do so owing to their low economic status. They needed food-grains to sustain their living, to exist. So they used up the seeds preserved for the purpose and had to revert to the locally available, cheaper seeds that they could borrow from relatively better-placed farmers. These pitiable contingencies of human existence in rural areas call for support from the government to the poorest, however knowledgeable, farmers. This can take the form of a seed library (call it by whatever name) from where they can borrow seeds on a no-profit no-loss basis. Mere education and transmission of knowledge do not serve the purpose.

Most of the CF who use the improved seeds in both Baladare and Yaliyur have primary or even secondary education. Similarly, a majority of them belong to the higher-income groups.

Thirty-three CF in Baladare out of 35 reported that it was the AA of the range who for the first time suggested the use of improved seeds. The CF of Yaliyur mentioned several sources: only three credited the AA for the suggestion, while six CF have learnt it by observing other farmers. None of the CF mentioned the radio as a source of motivation.

Why don't all CF resort to improved seeds? Only two CF in Baladare and eight in Yaliyur have ventured a reply to this question. While the CF in

159 BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Baladare reported that the improved seeds are expensive, four CF in Yaliyur feel that the management and care of the farm with improved seeds is too expensive. The other four CF in Yaliyur feel that a mixture of both locally available and improved seeds is best for higher yields.

(d) *Chemical treatment of seeds.* The seeds need to be treated with chemicals as a preventive measure before seeding. Nineteen CF in Baladare and 20 in Yaliyur have no problem of treating seeds with chemicals. They use ready-made seeds packed in certified bags. Nine more CF in Baladare treat the seeds with chemicals on their own. However, there are six CF in Baladare and five in Yaliyur who reported that they definitely do not treat seeds with chemicals.

The nine CF in Baladare who treat seeds with chemicals on their own are primary- and secondary-educated. All of them get an income of over 5,000 rupees per annum, and five of them are in the above 15,000 rupees range. The AA of the range advised all these nine CFs on the treatment of seeds.

(e) *Transplantation of crops.* Transplantation is a popular step in paddy cultivation. It is a method of transferring a tender plant into previously cleaned areas in the same plot. Spacing of plants, weeding and cleaning of transferred plants are all attended to at this stage. Systematized knowledge concerning the transplantation of plants leads to optimization of production. Practically all Contact Farmers reported that they transplant their crops—32 in Baladare and 26 in Yaliyur. By contrast, all CFs in Yaliyur do it in their traditional way, as handed down for generations, whereas 19 CF out of 35 in Baladare are guided by the AA's advice on scientific methods of transplantation.

(f) *Consumption of manures and fertilizers.* All Contact Farmers in Baladare as well as Yaliyur use both manures and fertilizers on their farms. The manure is available locally either in the form of cow-dung or other animal and vegetable waste, sold in measures of a cartload.

The synthetic or chemical fertilizers are used by all CF except three in Yaliyur. Two of the latter are illiterates while one is secondary-educated. But all three get an income of over 5,000 rupees *per annum*. The CF who use synthetic fertilizers belong to all educational categories including illiterates and all income-groups including the lowest range. However, there is a concentration of the CF who use fertilizers in the category of primary education and in the income-groups 5,001 to 10,000 and 15,001 and above.

In 34 out of 35 cases in Baladare it is the AA of the range who persuaded the CF to use synthetic fertilizers. In Yaliyur the number of CF crediting the AA for this is hardly two.

(g) *Pest control in agriculture.* It is common knowledge that crops are affected by pests. There are two ways in which pest affectation is controlled. One of them is to take preventive measures and the other is to resort to plant-protection measures.

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Only six CF in Baladare have reported that their crops are not affected by pests. Out of these six, four had taken preventive measures.

Those who do not undertake plant-protection measures when their crop is affected are rather exceptions. There are two such CF in Yaliyur and one in Baladare.

It would have been interesting to test the knowledge and skills of CF regarding the quantity and timing of the use of pesticides, weedicides and insecticides. But this was beyond the competence of the present study. However, in a study by Panikkar, exploring reasons for sub-optimal performance of 317 cultivator households in two census villages of Palghat and Kuttanad areas of Kerala State, it is reported that: '... Input (fertilizers) use was closely as per the guidelines of the Directorate of Extension Education, Kerala Agricultural University. Adoption of HYV was widespread, but yields were low. Reasons for sub-optimal performance were explored. It is felt that the HYV (as against traditional varieties) attract a variety of pests and diseases at the reproductive stages (as against vegetative stage for traditional varieties), leading to *indiscriminate application* of insecticides, pesticides and weedicides. This results in serious health hazards for plants, wipes out natural enemies of pests such as frogs, insects, fish and to some extent even spiders' (Panikkar, 1981).

This observation is significant from the point of view of proper education of farmers in the use of agricultural inputs and management of the farm.

(h) *Storing food-grains.* Given the poverty levels of farmers in India they do not come across long-term storage problems of food-grains as they do not produce enough. However, every farmer faces the problem of storing food-grains. This is essential to prevent infection from fungi and protect the seeds against insects. Quite an amount of research-based, tried and tested knowledge is available about storage practices. It forms part of the T and V programme also. But it is observed that only three CF in Baladare as well as Yaliyur follow the guidelines of the AA in storing their food-grains. All the rest do it in their traditional way.

Relationships between Agricultural Assistants, Contact Farmers, and Follow Farmers

The management of the T and V programme at the grass-roots level depends upon several factors: the vigour and sincerity with which the AA takes the job to his head and heart; the concern of higher officers in the hierarchy regarding the observance of training and visit schedules; the mechanisms of reinforcement, both positive and negative, of the work of the field functionaries, etc., and ultimately the response of the contact and follow farmers. In this sense, the relationships and interaction between Agricultural Assistants, Contact Farmers, and Follow Farmers were examined by this study.

In terms of contacts between the AA and the CF, the T and V programme appears to have performed well in the Baladare range. Its performance is

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dismal in the Yaliyur range. Thirty-four out of 35 CF in Baladare have reported that they know their AA well, and they could give his name. The thirty-fifth man can recognize the AA but cannot recall his name. In contrast, only five CF in Yaliyur know the AA by name.

The AA is scheduled to meet one group of CF once a week for training, and one in the following week for visits. All the 35 CF in Baladare have reported that the AA meets them at least once a fortnight, though none of them has reported any weekly meetings.

The picture is altogether different in the Yaliyur range. While only three CF have reported about occasional meetings with the AA, not a single group meeting has been conducted so far.

Almost all the CF in Baladare experience field problems in the planning and management of their crops. In 33 out of 35 cases such problems have been referred to the AA. But the number of CF who have referred their field problems at Yaliyur to the AA is hardly four.

All the CF who have raised questions on farm management with the AA report that the AA knows the answers to all field problems that they have raised so far. Fifteen Contact Farmers in Baladare went on to say that, in case the AA does not know the answer, he carries the problem to his superiors and brings back the solution in the subsequent meeting. But the CF in Yaliyur appear to be highly dissatisfied with the performance of the AA of their range. Nineteen out of 31 reported that their AA does not care about their field problems. In fact, when asked what suggestions they would offer to improve the work of the AA in their range, ten CF in Yaliyur range recommended that 'action should be taken against the AA' for non-performance.

The Contact Farmers who are the immediate target of the whole T and V system are supposed to spread the T and V messages in their environment by precept as well as practice. In this way it is hoped that all the farmers in the area, and especially 25 to 40 so-called 'Follow Farmers' for every CF, will take to the T and V technology. Hence, the T and V will spread like wildfire through a process of chain reaction. These are the noble objectives of the T and V system. But the actual field situation is not as rosy.

Twenty-five out of 35 CF in Baladare have reported that they have interactions with follow farmers. There are only two such CF in Yaliyur. These interactions are limited and are far from regular. In most cases the advice is given only when follow farmers take the initiative. Many FF, on the other hand, who consult the CF about agricultural practices do follow the advice of the CF. In 17 out of 25 cases in Baladare the FF have acted upon the advice of the CF. In fact, 12 CF have reportedly supervised the farming operations of the FF to whom they had offered advice.

The Department of Agriculture organizes a variety of agricultural extension education programmes other than the T and V. Field days, field demonstrations, field excursions, specialized agricultural training, are illustrations of such programmes. Twenty-six out of 35 Contact Farmers in Baladare are aware of these educational programmes. Most of the CF characterized the educational

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programmes in which they participated as useful or partly useful. None felt that the programmes were useless. Though it is hard to believe, the CF in Yaliyur reported that none of them is aware of any of these programmes.

Concluding impressions

The general feeling as regards the planning and management of the T and V system in rural areas is one of dissonance. Whilst in the context of the Yaliyur range the T and V programme is planned well and managed badly, in the context of Baladare range it is planned badly but managed well. The T and V programme, as being implemented now at Baladare, will not serve the objective of either growth or equity. Though it is planned well in Yaliyur, it exists largely on paper and generalizations on an almost non-implemented programme would be futile.

Certain striking contrasts appear between the AA of Baladare and that of Yaliyur, as one looks at the management of the T and V programme. The AA of Baladare is young. He appears to be enthusiastic in popularizing the T and V. He has excellent relations with the farmers of his range, as could be observed while moving with him in rural areas. He has taken the T and V work to his heart, displays concern about farmers' problems and commitment to his work. Though relatively new to the job, he enjoys the confidence and open appreciation of his superior officers including the ADA as well as the village leaders.

The AA of Yaliyur is getting old. He is nearing 50 years of age, and has about 28 years of extension education work experience in rural areas. He has been in the same position for all these 28 years, though the designation of his post has been changed time and again. He has only a few years left before retirement, and displays open apathy towards rural development programmes including the T and V. He hardly visits the villages of his range, has limited contacts with farmers though he knows all of them and all of them know him. Perhaps, these observations reflect upon the service conditions, promotion policies and prospects of the field level functionaries in extension education programmes in particular, and rural development programmes in general. They are the immediate agents of the delivery system for rural development. There is a need to re-examine the status of this human-resource factor in development.

The programme of Training Youth for Self-Employment

The programme of 'Training Youth for Self-Employment', popularly known as TRYSEM, is one among several schemes included in IRDP—the Integrated Rural Development Programme already referred to earlier in this study. The IRDP was launched all over the State by the Government of Karnataka during 1979. Its target-group are the poorest of the poor families in rural areas.

IRDP programmes are planned at the block level, based on the identification of the poorest families. For this, a household survey is carried out in a group of

163

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villages called a cluster. A cut-off point of household income distinguishes the potential beneficiary-families from the rest.

The IRDP programmes are implemented through the Block Development Officer, who co-ordinates his work with the banking institutions, training agencies, voluntary organizations, marketing centres, etc.

'Training of Youth for Self-Employment' is essentially a non-agricultural programme. In addition, it is one of the few programmes which have a rich education and training component. It involves a nonformal education stage as well as financial support in the form of loans for purchase of equipment, subsidy in the form of stipend during the training, and later on, assistance in marketing the products.

Preference is given to scheduled castes, scheduled tribes and women. There is no insistence on a qualifying level of formal education. Nor is there usually any certification of the training obtained. The curriculum of the various training programmes is planned in such a way as to suit local conditions. Paramount is the objective to assist the trained youth in setting up self-employment, and to discourage them from taking up paid employment; it is considered that the latter would defeat the objective of the programme and render the training futile.

A variety of specific training schemes are proposed under TRYSEM: training in rearing cross-breed cattle; fisheries; horticulture; seed farming; sericulture; repair of electrically-operated pumpsets; production of bakery products; artificial insemination; poultry-raising; radio assembly and repair; wool production; mat-making; embroidery; preservation of fruits and other consumable goods; blacksmithy; masonry; carpentry; bee-keeping and tailoring.

The BDO will select the training centres in consultation with the District Rural Development Society (DRDS).

The trainee is not supposed to spend anything on his training, as the DRDS is supposed to meet all training expenses. The trainee has to launch his employment project after a feasibility study and in consultation with the BDO, the District Industries Centre, the teachers of the training school, and officers of the DRDS, the local banking organization, the marketing officer, etc.

The present study has tried to examine the implementation of TRYSEM programmes in Channarayapatna block. Half of the beneficiaries under the TRYSEM during the years 1979–80 and 1980–81 form the sample of the study. For this purpose, the sixty-two beneficiaries were listed in alphabetical order of names and every alternate person was chosen for the study. Only 30 of them could finally be contacted, as one had left his village.

The programme and its clients

TRYSEM, it should be pointed out, is a programme addressed to unemployed youth in rural areas. There may be several definitions of 'youth' in terms of age; if the period between 18 to 25 years is taken as 'youth', then 22 out of the 30 respondents fit into the programme. There are two respondents who are below 18 years; this fact is all-decisive, as it makes them ineligible for bank

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loans. There are, on the other hand, six respondents who are older than 26 years. In Channarayapatna block, therefore, the clientèle of TRYSEM meets only in part the official definition of 'youth'.

It is equally interesting to observe that a majority of TRYSEM beneficiaries are women. There are 24 respondent women among 30 respondents. Ten respondents are married, two of them are widows, and the rest are unmarried.

All respondents are educated, with a minimum of seven years of primary education. Eight respondents have even passed the final secondary-school examination. Two are trained in nursery education, and two others are working as teachers for adult-education centres during the evenings. The TRYSEM clients are thus much better educated than the average womenfolk in the area. It will be recalled that illiteracy is rampant among the 411 sample wives interviewed by this study. Is it proper to conclude that education is a prerequisite for people to be aware of and participate in development programmes?

The 30 respondents are distributed in seven areas of the block. Many areas in the block have been left out in selecting TRYSEM beneficiaries. There are certain constraints, such as lack of infrastructure facilities, or of community zeal, which stand in the way of a balanced selection. They will be discussed later under planning of the TRYSEM programme.

The Industrial Extension Officer is the chief source of awareness about the TRYSEM programme for a majority of the respondents; he has been mentioned in 22 out of 30 cases. The IEO is attached to the Block Development office, though his parent department is the Department of Industries and Commerce.

Another eight respondents mentioned in addition the Women Welfare Officer of '*Mukhya Sevika*' and other sources. One of these eight has come to know through reading printed pamphlets circulated by the BDO, and another two have read about it on the notice-board of the block office.

A majority of respondents have been motivated for the TRYSEM programme by economic considerations. Fifteen out of 28 have reported that they joined TRYSEM so as 'to earn money'. Another six respondents said that they wanted to spend their time in a meaningful way. Three respondents said that the training offered under TRYSEM matched with their traditional family occupation and so they got interested. There are two respondents who wanted to get a certificate under TRYSEM programme and use it later to get a job.

Twenty-two out of 28 respondents have been trained in tailoring by three voluntary women's organizations. The duration of training was six months for all respondents. Two trainees discontinued the tailoring course. One of them did so as she got married.

Three respondents from the block headquarters have been trained at the Agricultural Equipment Training Centre, Channarayapatna, in a sandwich course on smithy, carpentry and welding. Three other respondents have been trained in carpentry at the Artisan Training Institute at Holenarasipur, a nearby block. All these six respondents are males. The duration of training for them, too, was six months.

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The TRYSEM scheme includes stipends for the trainees, paid on a monthly basis. It is observed that varying amounts have been paid to the trainees as stipend. While 11 respondents have received 50 rupees per month during the six-month period of training, 17 respondents have received 100 rupees as stipend. Almost all the non-tailoring TRYSEM beneficiaries have received 100 rupees per month. It is not entirely clear as to why the amount varies from 50 rupees to 100 rupees. One explanation is that in the case of those who received 50 rupees only, the other 50 rupees were retained as a recurring deposit towards purchase of the sewing or tailoring machine after the training.

Most of the respondents did not need to spend from their pocket either on board, lodging, or on transport, as their places of residence were near the training centres.

But for five respondents the training centre is far away from their homes. Especially the three respondents who were trained in carpentry at the Artisan Training Centre at Holenarasipur, a neighbouring block headquarters, found it hard to manage their training with the stipend given. They had to spend 30 to 40 rupees over and above the 100 rupees they received as stipend every month.

Programme relevance and follow-up

A majority of TRYSEM beneficiaries (15 out of 28) reported that the training they had received was useful to them. Ten respondents found it 'not very much' useful, while three respondents reported that it was useful 'to some extent'. It needs to be pointed out that not all who have received training (28 respondents) have also received loans and subsidy (14 respondents). Of those 14, who did have follow-up support, 11 stitch clothes of the villagers to earn money, while one of them stitches clothes of family members—her family is well-to-do and she does not need to earn money. The scheduled-caste beneficiary is not using the machine. There is no demand for her work. Another respondent has given up stitching as it is not profitable. Four of those who received neither loan not subsidy, also use their training by stitching at the women's welfare centre or at friends' places. Another three non-beneficiaries have their own tailoring machine. Training has been useful to them. For the three carpentry-trained beneficiaries, too, the training is useful as they do piece-work in the village. One carpentry-trained respondent has secured a job.

(a) *Follow-up assistance*. The purpose of training under TRYSEM is to give the beneficiairies a capacity for self-employment. However, financial support for the purchase of equipment, machinery or other essential items was given to only 14 respondents. For this purpose, the IEO arranged a loan from the bank and a subsidy from the government, given through the BDO under the IRDP programme. One of these 14 respondents, being a scheduled-caste lady, got the equipment free of cost. For the 14 respondents who have got follow-up assistance, a time-gap between training and employment has been observed. Five respondents had to wait for nearly a year after completing their training, while another nine respondents had to wait for nearly a year and a half. Needless to

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say, better planning and management should be able to secure financial assistance immediately after the period of training.

Fourteen respondents have thus not received any financial assistance for self-employment after their training. It is not that all these 14 respondents had aspired for financial assistance but failed to get it. This is the case of only nine out of the 14: the local bank had refused to grant financial assistance to two out of these nine respondents as they were minors, being below 18 years of age and thus not eligible for the assistance. Another four out of the nine respondents could not get the loan, as they failed to pay a deposit towards the purchase of the equipment. Perhaps these four were the poorest of the poor. One of them was found to be a widow. In the case of two more respondents the loan had been sanctioned, but not yet released. The bank was waiting for the subsidy from the government.

Of the remaining five respondents who had not applied for follow-up assistance, one quit the course after four months. The other four did not want a loan or subsidy, as they already had the equipment or purchased it on their own; one respondent (trained in welding, carpentry and smithy) got a paid job as a welder in the District headquarters.

It must also be noted that the amount of loan and subsidy is not the same for all beneficiaries. While one, belonging to a scheduled caste, got the tailoring machine for free, the others have got loans ranging from 640 to 800 rupees. The subsidy also varied from 140 to 290 rupees.

The rate of interest on bank loans for TRYSEM is fixed at one per cent. There is no fixed period for loan repayment for any beneficiary. They have been advised to repay in monthly instalments depending upon their income. There are those who have been repaying as low an instalment as 20 rupees per month, while others have paid as much as 80 rupees per month. Only one beneficiary has repaid the full amount.

(b) *The TRYSEM market.* Only 15 TRYSEM beneficiaries are in a practical sense self-employed. Those who are trained in tailoring stitch clothes, and those who are trained in carpentry take up piece-work of making windows, doors, tables, chairs, etc. They do this work in the village itself. As we saw, one trainee who was trained in welding got a job.

Women trained in tailoring, in a few cases, find it difficult to get orders for stitching as there are already professional tailors at work in their villages. But it is the case of the scheduled-caste respondent which is most pathetic and cruel. Though she got trained in tailoring, has completed the eighth standard of schooling, and has got a tailoring machine free of cost, she has not been able to get along with this job. There is, she says, no demand for her skill, and hence she is not using her machine. She did not like to spell out the reasons. In all likelihood, the caste-Hindus do not want to give their clothes to her for stitching. Moreover, even the other scheduled-caste families may prefer to go to caste-Hindu tailors. We are, in other words, faced with a social constraint on the TRYSEM programme, which had probably not been envisaged.

167 BEST COPY AVAILABLE

(c) *Economic condition of TRYSEM beneficiaries.* How far has the TRYSEM improved the economic condition of the respondents? Those respondents who were just trained, and the others who were provided financial follow-up assistance as well, must be considered separately for this analysis.

Nine of those who were just trained reported that the training did not improve their economic condition while another three reported that there has been a slight improvement. Likewise five respondents among the 14 who had been given financial assistance for purchase of equipment reported that the project as a whole had not improved their economic condition. It is only in the case of eight respondents that the project has effected 'slight improvements'. This will be the case of most tailoring women, who apparently earn an additional 30 rupees per month. There is, finally, one beneficiary who has reported that the TRYSEM programme has definitely improved her economic condition. She is a tailor who manages to earn some 60 to 70 rupees per month.

(d) *General impressions of respondents.* The respondents had been asked to give their general impressions or anything else they wanted to say about the TRYSEM programme. Six respondents had nothing to say. Eleven respondents complained that the Industrial Extension Officer who so enthusiastically involved them in the project did not follow it up after the training was over. Either he did not take sufficient interest in getting them financial assistance from banks, or failed to get them a certificate for the training they had received. Three other respondents further criticized the IEO for not auctioning the clothing they had stitched during training and carrying it away 'God knows where'. Two respondents have complaints against the bank for raising 'unnecessary' objections in sanctioning assistance. Five respondents have complaints against the educational content of the programme: four of them, trained in tailoring, desired that new patterns and styles should have been taught instead of concentrating too much on the parts of the machine and on theoretical aspects. One who was trained in welding, smithy, and carpentry in a period of six months desired that he should have been taught only one trade during that time.

Planning and management of the TRYSEM programme

The planning and management of the TRYSEM programme must be assessed from the perspective of the 'success' of the whole project. Has the TRYSEM programme been successful? One may have to define 'success' at the outset: should 'success' be interpreted in terms of coverage of beneficiaries, successful completion of training, the variety of training programmes offered, provision of financial assistance to youth for self-employment, the opening-up of markets for the skills in which the persons are trained? Or should it be gauged by its overall effects in raising the levels of income and quality of life of the persons covered?

A minimum of seventh-standard education has been required in selecting beneficiaries for the TRYSEM training. Because of the formal education of the

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beneficiaries, sources of programme awareness other than personal contacts have come to light. The beneficiaries have come to know about the programme not only through verbal messages from the Industrial Extension Officer and the Women Welfare Officer, but also through printed pamphlets, advertisements in local newspapers, notice-board displays at the BDO's office, etc.

Beneficiaries have been invariably selected by the IEO or the Women's Welfare Officer of the BDO's office. A better planning in selection could have avoided some problems at a later stage. For instance, two persons who were below 18 years of age were selected and then refused financial assistance from the bank on the grounds that they were minors. In fact, quite a few beneficiaries of the TRYSEM programme cannot strictly be called 'youth'.

A great majority of TRYSEM beneficiaries are women. There is nothing wrong with that from the point of view of raising the status of rural women. But it was not planned that way. It has happened like that because of insufficient demand for a variety of trades under TRYSEM. When the IEO could not get sufficient response for other trades he requested the women welfare officer to locate persons to reach the target fixed for the block. This suited the *Mukhya Sevika* as she is expected to promote women's welfare. So she publicized it with the IEO at places where there was already some community enthusiasm for women's welfare in the form of active women's organizations. In this way they found several women willing to undergo training under TRYSEM.

This type of planning based on social demand and target fulfilment is likely to lead to several types of imbalances. One of them will be the imbalance in skill development. That is, only a few skills such as tailoring will be covered and in a few years there will be a large supply of tailors not matched by demand. Even now, those trained under TRYSEM and assisted to purchase equipment find it difficult to get a market as there are professional tailors in their area, tailors for whom it is a caste occupation. Another imbalance refers to locational and distributional aspects of the TRYSEM programme. Only a few areas where there is already a given level of development or development consciousness will get patronized, while those areas which are relatively underdeveloped will be ignored.

A few final observations on the management of the TRYSEM programme: the training aspect of the programme has been managed relatively well. There were few drop-outs, as most of the trainees lived near the training centres. A majority of trainees reported that the training was useful to them. However, the financial follow-up support for self-employment could have been managed in a better way. Nearly 50 per cent of trainees could not get any financial support. Those who did had to wait for a long time. There was a minimum time-gap of eight months. Had the papers for financial assistance been initiated well in advance of the completion of the training, it would have been possible to minimize the time-gap. Finally, the marketing of the products from TRYSEM has been almost completely ignored. Consideration of all these aspects would go a long way in making the TRYSEM programme more successful and relevant for the non-agricultural dimension of rural development.

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6. Summary of the main findings

This final section presents, in summary form, the main findings of the present study. In accordance with the objectives spelt out earlier, they relate to three problem-areas: first, problems of horizontal and vertical integration in the delivery system for rural development; second, problems of people's participation in rural development programmes; and third, problems pertaining to the rôle of formal and nonformal education in rural development.

Problems of integration in the delivery system for rural development

At two points the present study has dealt with problems of vertical and horizontal integration in the delivery system for rural development. First, it presented an institutional analysis focusing on the *taluk* or block; in the Indian setting, the block is supposed to be the principal linking-pin for different programmes of rural development. In addition, the study subsequently employed interviews with field-level functionaries and clients of two selected development projects to identify problems of integration in the practical operation of these projects.

What conclusions can be drawn from this two-prong analysis of the delivery system for rural development? The institutional analysis, though geographically limited to Channarayapatna block in Hassan district, does suggest certain generalizable conclusions: the block provides the point of intersection for various vertically-structured institutions, distinguished by their functional specialization. Each of these observes a vertical chain of command, and maintains its particular institutional culture. The high degree of differentiation which these multiple delivery channels represent does not seem to be matched by a commensurate degree of integration. There are several reasons why the Block Development Agency, and at a higher level the District Rural Development Society, do not provide the effective 'linking-pins' for which they were conceived. The first is that an agency as crucial as the Department of Agriculture remains outside the BDO's co-ordinating power; but even for agencies within the BDO's purview, the BDO cannot exercise direct control over their block-level staff. His administrative rank is too low; moreover, his staff resources are too depleted to allow for effective co-ordination and supervision.

This assessment is mirrored by the detailed analysis of integration problems within two selected rural development projects, i.e. the Training and Visit System of Agricultural Extension, and the project of Training Youth for Self-Employment. In both projects, a major problem has been one of integrating the nonformal training received with the follow-up financial assistance from banks. Credit is either not given or, if it is, tends to come too late. While TRYSEM beneficiaries have had to wait for up to one and a half years, the problems were even more acute for farmers participating in the T and V programme, as agricultural operations have to follow the change of seasons. On the whole, there is a clear need to link the credit and non-credit dimensions of rural development more effectively. Similarly, problems of integration

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appeared between the training provided, the availability of inputs, and the opportunities to market either the agricultural produce, or the goods and services offered by TRYSEM beneficiaries. Finally, if in the T and V System the training and extension sequence involving the University of Agricultural Sciences, the Department of Agriculture and its field-level agents, the Contact Farmers and other ordinary farmers seems to pose no basic problems of co-ordination, this is unfortunately not so for TRYSEM. The nonformal education and training conducted under this latter programme is not integral to the IRDP, and takes place in training centres operated mainly by the Department of Rural Industries. TRYSEM staff, therefore, have no immediate say as regards the quality and content of their training. As pointed out earlier, certain comments by TRYSEM beneficiaries referred to this particular co-ordination problem.

Problems of people's participation

Some of the most glaring shortcomings of rural development programmes occur at the 'point of delivery' where the field-level funtionaries are supposed to interact with the rural people and enlist their participation.

A major obstacle in the way of effective participation is the complexity and lack of transparency of the existing institutional set-up for rural development. The majority of rural population, impoverished and ill-educated, tend to be confused and frightened by 'the system'. Few manage to locate the appropriate agencies and officials, or to secure their services in the exact sequence required. As the survey results confirm, those who do participate in rural development programmes tend to be a self-selected sample of generally better-educated, better-informed, and economically better-off people.

The principle of people's participation has, moreover, been thoroughly flouted in the case of the T and V programme. All those participating in this programme as Contact Farmers were supposed to be freely elected by the village community. Instead, Contact Farmers have been selected from above, many of them not even aware that they figured in a list kept at the Office of the Assistant Director of Agriculture in Channarayapatna.

While in the TRYSEM programme there is no stipulation for grass-roots election of beneficiaries, the choice of persons for training has apparently been rather haphazard. Preference was again given to persons with above-average education.

It is thus in the interaction between field level functionaries and the rural people, that the complicated and costly machinery for rural development has its weakest link. Given the long and frustrating service record of many of these functionaries, such a state of affairs is understandable. There are no in-built checks and balances in the form of incentives or disincentives. A passing word of appreciation or admonition from superiors is not sufficient. Rather, the service conditions and promotional prospects of field-level workers need to be improved. They are the change-agents and animators of nonformal education in rural development. They need a better deal.

171 BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Formal and nonformal education in rural development

A principal objective of the present study has been to explore the rôle of education in rural development. It is clear that this objective needed to be stated in much more concrete terms, as both the concept of education and that of rural development are very broad and can be defined in different ways.

The study, therefore, analysed in a first step the statistical relationships between formal education, measured in years of schooling, and selected socio-economic variables. Some of these, such as a family's health status, the number of children, and the practice of family planning methods, are commonly thought to depend on educational influences. The present study found no evidence to confirm this assumption. Where formal education does seem to be effective, is in the opening up of credit opportunities and in encouraging the participation in village organizations. This finding is subsequently corroborated by the more detailed analysis of those participating in two selected rural development projects.

At the same time, formal education is an important factor within the family context, in so far as it can stimulate demand for education by other family members. In the present study, the education of household heads turns out to be pivotal in this respect, much more so than in the case of their wives, most of whom remain illiterate.

A second group of variables, indicating the social status, structure, and earning capacity of rural families, turn out to be positively linked to the level of formal education achieved. The correlations are, for the most part, statistically significant. However, more research will be needed to determine whether education figures in these relationships as a dependent or independent variable.

In a second step, the study tried to analyse the rôle of nonformal education in rural development. This was attempted by taking a detailed look at two selected programmes based on the integrated rural-development approach. What is more, both the Training and Visit System of Agricultural Extension, and the programme of Training Youth for Self-Employment, are essentially nonformal education programmes.

The analysis of these programmes suggests a host of critical and practically relevant lessons to improve their planning and management. These have been summarized above. What need to be highlighted here, are the findings that relate specifically to the rôle of nonformal education. Three merit being singled out.

First, the Contact Farmers of the T and V System, and the beneficiaries of TRYSEM, have on the whole a distinctly higher level of school education than the average household in our study area. Formal education is thus positively associated with participation in nonformal education programmes. This may be explained in two ways: on the one hand, literacy and school education open up sources of programme-awareness other than the word of mouth; at the same time, they are likely to increase one's self-confidence and motivation to venture into further education and training experiences of the nonformal type. On

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the other hand, one cannot but note a certain propensity on the part of field-level programme staff to select rural people who, like themselves, have an acceptable level of school education. It may be recalled that neither in T and V nor in TRYSEM were participants chosen by their fellow-villagers; rather, it was a case of selection and more or less active recruitment from above.

Seen in this light, the observed relationship between formal education and participation in nonformal programmes is not necessarily a desirable one. It augurs badly for the chances of integrated rural development projects in general, and those with an education and training component in particular, to reach the illiterate and poorest of the poor.

Second, in the two projects examined the education and training part has, by and large, posed less of a problem than other project elements. If the actual performance of these projects is below their potential, the principal reasons will be found in the faulty planning and identification of project participants, the lack of grass-roots-level participation, and particularly in the absence of effective linkages between different project elements. But this very observation shows, at the same time, the relative vulnerability of nonformal education and training programmes in rural development: their effectiveness is contingent upon integration with, and reinforcement by, non-educational factors much more than in the case of formal education.

Third, the present study has in more than one way confirmed the paramount importance of nonformal education in rural development. In fact, the whole field-level extension work in rural areas can be considered as nonformal education, whether it be agricultural extension as in the case of the T and V system, or extension work related to health, nutrition, or other basic services.

In societies with a strong oral tradition, where personal contacts are much more relied upon than printed literature, the scope and potential of this kind of nonformal education is immense. As a practical consequence, everything should be done to strengthen and improve the oral interaction between field-level functionaries and their rural clientèle. This interaction is an essential link in the chain of nonformal education in rural areas. Making it work may well be a more important priority than measures to reinforce the administrative machinery above the point of delivery.

173 BEST COPY AVAILABLE

CHAPTER VIII

The rôle of education in integrated rural development in Bangladesh

Summary version of a case study by

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1. Scope and design of the study

Definition of terms

The key concepts in the present study are 'development', 'rural', 'integration', and 'education'.

'Development' may be defined as improving the quality of life both in human and material terms; development is, at the same time, viewed as interdisciplinary and multisectoral. However, in the context of the present research, development might be better conceived in terms of differentiation. For society, the term differentiation, as distinct from segmentation, is applied to signify developmental change which arises mainly from adaptation to the changing environment, technological change, growing population density, etc. The old rôles in society are no longer able to cope with developmental needs, so that more and more specialized (differentiated) rôles come into play, along with growing institutional complexity (from moneylender to bank, traditional healer to hospital, council of elders to formal courts, etc.). 'Integration', on the other hand, corresponds to the concept of 'solidarity'—mechanical for the primary, traditional group, and 'organic' with the emergence of secondary relationships. Integration is, in this sense, inverse to differentiation. Integration, associated with differentiation, generates organization and institutions governed by written formal rules.

The term 'rural' points directly to the life and activities associated with the village. The 'village' may be considered as a geographically bounded, interacting system of man and nature. Then there is the centre-periphery relationship in the inter-village system, and articulation with the national and international system. Articulation, related to differentiation and integration, means interdependent rather than dependency relationships as evident in underdeveloped or counter-developing societies between the city and the village, government and the people, patron and the client. The village as a social

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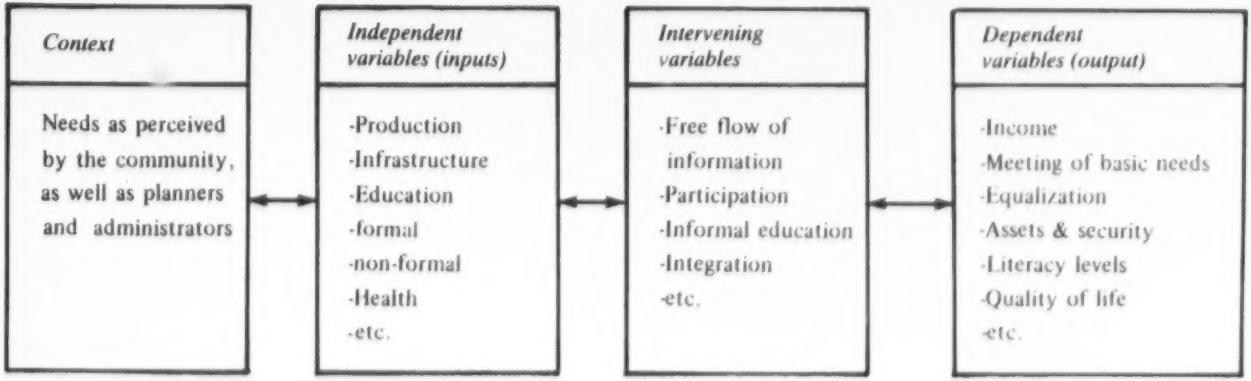

FIGURE 4. *A paradigm for the research on education and integrated rural development*

system of individual and group interaction is subject to the processes of differentiation, integration and articulation.

'Education', finally, for the purpose of the present research encompasses the formal, nonformal and informal realms. It manifests itself in attitudes and behaviour. Education (liberal and instrumental, not conservative and regressive) is both a contributor to and product of development. Formal education, if it leads to development, does not do so by imparting knowledge as such, but by widening the mental horizon and leading to greater organizational participation. Several research studies have shown organizational participation to be a positive correlate of development.

Research paradigm

Our paradigm for research is presented in Figure 4. Although it seems to be a causal model, setting out the input and the output, the independent and dependent (quality of life), mediated by intervening variables (such as integration), in reality the variables are interdependent. For example, income may lead to education, while education in turn may lead to further income and further education. Our paradigm is thus essentially circular and confounding. In this research it will suffice to clarify concepts and understand the interrelationship among concepts translated into variables.

Units of analysis

Our units of analysis consist of the following:

—Individual members of household: heads of household and other adult members aged 15 years and above were interviewed; information on school-age (5–14) children was collected in this way.

—Organizations: at the village level (Union Parishad, KSS etc.) and intermediate level (Thana administration, TOCA, Education Office, BARD, etc.); village leaders and other knowledgeable persons served as key informants.

—Group level: family or household as the aggregation of member characteristics, as the production and consumption unit, as the status symbol with assets and possessions. Household was defined as the common eating unit *(khana)* bound by kinship ties. Non-kin, sharing food in the family (such as house tutors, servants) are also included as members of the household.

—Village characteristics as the aggregation of the properties of the population or households, e.g., in respect of literacy, or such global characteristics as the presence or absence of markets, schools, roads, etc.

Indicators

—Family (household) type—inventory of individual membership age, sex, relation to head, marital status, education, skill, occupation, organizational participation, employment status, religion and family title (if any).

—Housing status—material used in the construction of main house.

—Economic status of the household—placing the household on a five-point scale.

—Social status of the household—placing the household on a five-point scale.

—Yearly household income in money terms from different sources.

176 BEST COPY AVAILABLE

—Itemwise household expenditure.

—Standard of living index—numerical score given to items possessed in respect of (i) light at night (ii) kitchen and dining utensils (iii) furniture (iv) modern amenities (v) transport (vi) cultural items (vii) agricultural assets and tools.

—Landownership and tenurial status of the household.

—Other indicators showing developmental behaviour and attitudes, such as in respect of toilet, health care, death and morbidity, nutrition (food habits), family planning, use of banks, etc.

—Opinions, attitudes and knowledge of head of household and other adult members—

(i) regarding village, town, education, integration.

(ii) regarding resources in the family, village and outside the village.

(iii) compared to 1970 (pre-liberation days): whether the condition of the household has improved, deteriorated, remained the same—why?

(iv) participation, co-operation and conflict—among members of household, related to local government, village councils and voluntary organizations. How conflict can be resolved.

(v) regarding local government, councils, administration and their influence on the village and household.

(vi) regarding self-reliance.

(vii) regarding rôle of women in development, work and employment.

(viii) regarding the nature and utility of education for the members of the family and community, and ways in which the village school can be utilized.

(ix) regarding health and family planning.

(x) whether family is change-oriented, willing to adopt or already has adopted improved practices in such fields as production, health, nutrition, education.

Sampling and data-collection

In 1981 a bench-mark survey was conducted in 8 villages, 4 each in Manikganj *thana* (subdivision) in the central region and Natore *thana* in the northern region of Bangladesh. Of the four villages in each region, two were high-literacy (Hi-lit) and two were low-literacy (Lo-lit) villages (see Map 4).

Four out of the eight villages were selected for the purpose of the present study, with the condition that two villages—one Hi-lit and another Lo-lit—should be in Manikganj, similarly two villages should be in Natore. Considerations of time, cost and intensity of the enquiry suggested a coverage of not more than 150 households in the 4 villages. Based on the information of the 1981 study, households in those villages were stratified according to economic status, education, landownership and tenancy status. For each village, a stratified sample of households proportionally representing the above categories was drawn up. Ultimately, 143 households were covered in 4 villages—19 in Angutia, 28 in Chak Masuria, 46 in South Pathrail and 50 in Chandapur.

The research team included regular staff of the National Foundation for Research on Human Resource Development.[1] Research officers and investigators for the specific purpose of the project were recruited from outside. Two

1. Merged in October 1983 with the Bangladesh Institute of Development Studies.

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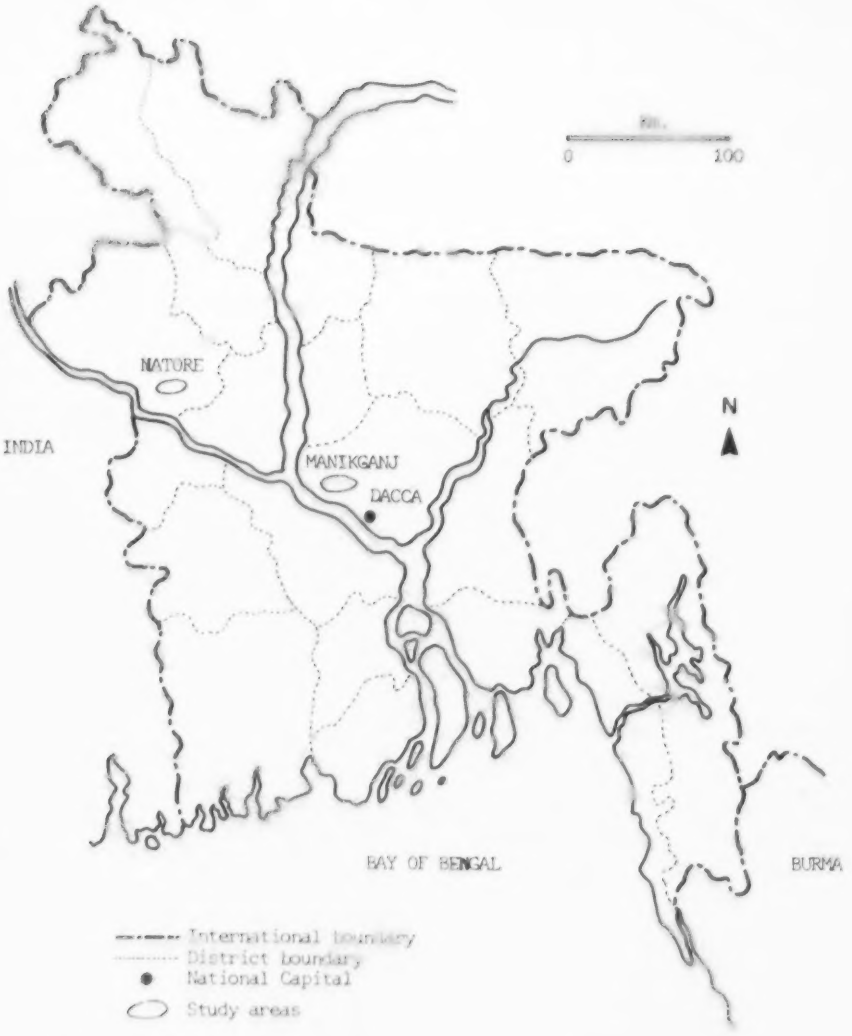

MAP 4. *Location of the study area in Bangladesh.*

178
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female investigators—both university graduates—were drawn from the localities of Manikganj and Natore, since they were familiar with the local situation. All the investigators stayed continuously in the study area until the completion of data-collection. Research techniques combined survey and anthropological participant observation.

Two sets of guidelines/questionnaires were used—one for the household level where the head of household and all other adult members (aged 15 years and above) were interviewed, and the other for key informants and functionaries of intermediate level (especially, *thana* level) offices and organizations. Official and non-official reports were relied upon for national and policy-level data. Investigators were also required to keep a daily diary to record observations. These diaries provide valuable insights while analysing the field data.

Data processing and analysis

Most interview questions were open-ended, even for common questions such as occupation, tenure status, etc., which have different forms and meanings at the local level. All questions were coded and transferred to code sheets, which remained as a data bank. The data were manually processed and computed with the help only of desk calculators.

Given the problems of data-collection in traditional rural societies, no claim was made for the measurement scale to be more than ordinal. Statistical and computational operations by and large followed this logic. Elaboration of the general relationship between variables was done by partitioning (controlling) data for high- and low-literacy villages and the two regions. Chi-square tests were computed to determine, in particular, the influence of the variable 'literacy'. Although for ordinal scales, relational measures such as Gamma, Kendall's Tao, etc., would have been appropriate, for our analysis we computed the product-moment correlation, by assigning an appropriate score to the qualitative measures (for example, 3,2,1 for high, medium and low economic status).

Integrated rural development, and indeed, development in general, emphasizes equality and distributive justice. In our analysis we have, therefore, computed inequalities for a number of variables, by means of the Gini coefficient. This has allowed for a number of significant comparisons, as regards the degree of inequality that reigns in low- *vs.* high-literacy villages.

A time of transition

Between the time of preparation for the study and the actual field enquiry in the latter part of 1982, Bangladesh witnessed a change of régime. On 24 March 1982 Martial Law was declared. The new régime moved quickly to decentralize administration and judiciary, and bring it nearer to the village. The *thana* was made the focal point of development and administration. The newly enacted village governments *(Gram Sarker)* were suspended. Pronouncements were made for a new education policy. While the programme for universal primary education, formulated in the Second Five-Year Plan (1980–85), was to con-

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tinue and be given intense attention, the programme for mass literacy was temporarily suspended—reportedly for failing to establish proper organization and achieve the desired result. The organizations for rural development, especially the Integrated Rural Development Programme (IRDP) came under review for possible restructuring. While the co-operative management of the rural production activities continued to receive support, the policy of the new régime provided for privatization, for example, of the installation of irrigation pumps, etc. Our study and interviews thus took place at a time of transition.

2. Integrated rural development and education: the institutional setting

1. The Integrated Rural Development Programme (IRDP)

a) *Background*. The concept of Integrated Rural Development in Bangladesh emerged as an outcome of a number of experimentations carried out by the then Pakistan Academy for Rural Development, Comilla, during the early part of the 1960s. The primary objective of these experiments was to evolve a model for rural development which would be suitable to the socio-economic conditions of the country. The backwardness of rural Bangladesh during the 1950s was dismal:

—Productivity was low and stagnant, pressure on land was excessive, average holdings were small and uneconomic, monsoon floods frequently damaged crops and drainage was defective, dry season irrigation was uncommon, and rural roads were few and in bad repair.

—Old rural institutions no longer functioned properly but had not been replaced for the construction and maintenance of roads, drains, embankments, and irrigation and flood-control facilities.

—Government services were inadequate and rural areas were discriminated against in favour of urban and industrial interests which wielded political power.

—The rural majority, the smallholders and agricultural labourers, had little organization or influence on the administration and were exploited by the rural élite—the landlords, moneylenders and traders. They had little incentive and little access to the goods and services necessary to increase production.

Production in rural Bangladesh is held down by physical and socio-economic constraints in spite of the fact that the cultivable area of 22.5 million acres is being fully utilized. Increased output from the land can, therefore, come only from more intensive utilization. However, about two-thirds of the area is affected by flood and drainage problems. Dry-season irrigated agriculture would avoid the flood problem, but only about 3.5 million acres are irrigated. About two-thirds of all farms are below the 2.5 acres average size and are fragmented into as many as 10 parcels. A quarter of all farm families have

180 BEST COPY AVAILABLE

marginal holdings of less than one acre, and about one-third of all land is farmed by share-croppers. In the traditional rural society these small and marginal farmers pay dearly for tenure and for credit from moneylenders, and have very poor access to official supplies of credit and inputs. Overshadowing the problem of the small and marginal farmer is that of the landless and unemployed. About half of the rural households are landless and their number grows alarmingly. Endemic un- and under-employment is estimated to affect about 36 per cent of the labour force.

Bangladesh is overwhelmingly a rural country, with 90 per cent of the population living in rural areas. Hence, the economic development of the country is largely dependent on the development of its rural sector, which contributes more than two-thirds of the GNP. But all development efforts have to fight against the vicious circle of poverty and the manifold constraints outlined above. Various efforts that were made in isolation earlier failed to bring about any perceptible result.

The Government (then of Pakistan) launched a rural development programme in the 1950s (Village Agricultural and Industrial Development or V-AID). This programme was shortlived. However, it did lead to the establishment in 1959 of what is now called the Bangladesh Academy for Rural Development (BARD) in Comilla. The action-research programmes of BARD at Comilla which explicitly addressed the physical and socio-economic constraints led to the development of an integrated rural development model comprising four components:

1. The Thana Training and Development Centre (TTDC)—to bring together the offices of all nation-building departments for a decentralized and co-ordinated rural administration nearer the rural homes; to provide a single point of supply of goods and services to farmers; and to provide a single training centre through which all agencies could disseminate their messages.
2. The Rural Works Programme (RWP)—to build the rural physical infrastructure (irrigation and drainage channels, flood-protection embankments, rural roads and markets) needed to promote increased and less risky agricultural production while providing employment opportunities to the rural poor, especially in the slack seasons.
3. The Thana Irrigation Plan (TIP)—to co-ordinate the formation of pre-co-operative groups to ensure sound use of irrigation equipment; the provision of repair and maintenance services; construction of field and distribution channels; and training of operators and managers. The groups would eventually be converted into registered co-operatives and federated to TCCA.
4. The TCCA-KSS Co-operative System—to organize village-based farmers' co-operatives (KSS) for production as well as protection, and federate them into Thana Central Co-operative Associations (TCCA). The KSS were to collect savings deposits, ensure group management of irrigation equipment, and provide institutional credit and other complementary

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inputs so as to overcome the impediments associated with small, fragmented individual holdings and small individual input requirements and surpluses. The TCCAs were to provide members with education, credit, inputs, banking services, workshop facilities and overall co-ordination.

The model had a quick and significantly positive impact in the Comilla laboratory area. This induced the government to replicate three components nationwide, in fairly rapid succession: RWP in 1961–62; TTDC in 1963–64; and TIP in 1967–68. The fourth component, the TCCA-KSS co-operative System, has been replicated as a national programme within the institutional framework of IRDP.

b) *Main elements and objectives of IDRP.* The 'Integrated Rural Development Programme' basically aims at organizing the rural people through co-operatives. It provides an institutional framework for development activities for the farmers, the women, the artisans and the youth in the rural areas.

IRDP was conceived as an integral component of a comprehensive rural institutional plan. The two-tier TCCA–KSS co-operative framework provided the organizational support. TCCA's support facilities to the KSS specifically include:

—Extension and training facilities for promotion of co-operative and production activities;
—Credit and banking facilities;
—Procurement and supply of production inputs and implements including pumps and tubewells for irrigation;
—Storage and marketing facilities; and
—Overall guidance, supervision and evaluation of work.

Based on this support, the Farmers' Co-operatives have the following main tasks:

—To provide institutional services to the members;
—To arrange weekly meetings of the members;
—To prepare joint production plans for the members so as to utilize the institutional facilities, such as credit and irrigation water, to procure these inputs and credit from the TCCA, supervise their use and repay credit in time.
—To build up societies' own capital through individual savings of the members and share capital;
—To undertake other social-welfare activities for the society and the members.

The members of each village co-operative elect their representatives (Chairman, Manager and Model Farmer) who receive training in co-operative management and improved agricultural practices etc. in weekly training courses at the Thana Training and Development Centre (TTDC). TTDC is the seat of the Thana development administration which houses the offices of nation-building agencies including the IRDP-TTCA. Each village co-operative holds a weekly meeting in the village to disseminate the knowledge acquired by its representatives in TTDC.

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c) *Women's participation in rural development.* Women in Bangladesh constitute 48 per cent of the total population, an overwhelming majority of whom live in the rural areas. Though women in villages perform important and valuable tasks they had been more or less by-passed by new technologies and rural development programmes in the past. Rural women in Bangladesh have been victims of dual discrimination, due both to their sex and to poverty.

Greater efforts have been made of late to improve the living and working conditions of the rural women by integrating them within the overall development framework. Promotion of women's organizations, literacy programmes, skill formation, access to inputs such as credit, and designing appropriate technologies to alleviate the drudgery of their work constitute the basic elements of the strategy in this regard. To make up for lost time and to create a sense of urgency regarding women's participation in development, a Women's Affairs Ministry was set up in 1978. The Ministry has taken up 19 projects during the Second-Plan period at a total cost of Taka 710 million. Training for income-generating activities, provision of credit and supplies and marketing facilities are included in some of the projects.

IRDP initiated a Women's Co-operative Programme in 1975 with the dual objectives of imparting population education and developing skills for income-generating activities. So far about 800 village co-operative societies have been organized in 36 *thanas* with about 30,000 members. While the number of income-generating activities taken up has increased gradually as a result of regular training at *thana* level, the success of family-planning measures has also been significant. According to an evaluation in 1980, about 60 per cent of the eligible couples in the co-operatives accepted family-planning methods and devices.

Under the Rural Social Services of the Department of Social Welfare more than 800 mother's clubs have been formed in the rural areas, bringing social-welfare activities of the Government to the countryside for the first time.

Special rural-development projects

A host of other programmes and projects focused on rural development are part of the institutional setting of rural Bangladesh. Their main features may be briefly reviewed here.

a) *Self-Reliant Movement.* The Self-Reliant Movement aimed at mobilizing local resources for the purposes of production and infrastructural investment. The movement also aimed at a village government system with proportional representation of the different professional groups. Based on the experiences of this movement in some villages of Bangladesh, the Government officially launched a programme of instituting *Gram Sarker* (village government) all over the country. In a second step it then initiated a country-wide programme of rural development, including digging of canals, building dams and embankments, road construction, etc., based partly on self-help and partly on Government assistance. Tremendous popular enthusiasm was generated among the

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rural people implementing these programmes, particularly canal digging, which only proves that people's willingness to participate is always present, but depends on proper institutional back-up. The *Gram Sarker* was, however, abolished by the present Government when they took over the country's administration in May 1982.

b) *Small Farmer's Development Project.* A 'Small farmers and landless labourers project', taken up by the Ministry of LGRD and Co-operatives, aims at helping the small farmers, share-croppers, landless, artisans and women to participate in and derive benefit from development through group action. Encouraging results in the first phase of the experiment in a few villages led the Government to expand the area of experiment to a large number of villages in order to get more knowledge and experience for wider replication of the project.

c) *Rural Banking Project.* Initially an experiment in a small pilot area, the project is now being tried out on a wider scale in order to test its replicability. The project aims at helping the rural poor through institutional credit under the easiest terms and conditions. The results so far are reported to be encouraging.

d) *People's Health Centres.* Initiated by a few professional doctors, the project aimed initially at creating an effective health-services delivery system. But when it was realized that health problems cannot be attacked in isolation from the socio-economic context in which the rural poor live, the project adopted a more integrated approach to solving health problems. Besides health, the approach now involves efforts at improving economic conditions and raising the consciousness of the target groups, who include the landless, the marginal farmers and other rural sections.

e) *Intensive Area-development Projects.* With the assistance and co-operation of external donor agencies, an number of intensive area-development projects are being implemented in some *thanas* of Bangladesh. The objective is comprehensive rural development with emphasis on production increase and employment generation. The main feature of implementation is that the Government agencies involved implement their respective components instead of creating any new implementation machinery. However, to ensure co-ordination, the IRDP works as the secretariat of the Central Project Co-ordination Committee (CPCC) and also as a contact-point for the financing institutions. Project Executive Committees have been constituted at the district and *thana* levels to ensure co-ordination and solve problems right at the grass-roots.

f) *Youth Development Programme.* Youth is the most promising and viable human resource of the country, and the population in this group is increasing very rapidly. However, a majority of them suffer from severe poverty,

184 BEST COPY AVAILABLE

illiteracy or low levels of education and training. With this realization, a Youth Development Ministry has been created. The objectives of the Youth Development Programme which it launched include organizing the youth through village-level organizations; training them in agriculture, livestock, poultry-farming, fisheries and co-operatives with a view to equipping them for self-employment; promoting youth leadership through participation in community-based activities; and, finally, ascertaining the potentialities and requirements of the youths on the basis of regular surveys and continuous research.

g) *Non-Farm Self-Employment.* The landless and the marginal farmers in rural areas remain underemployed or even unemployed during most of the year. The agricultural sector seems to have reached saturation point, leaving no scope for finding them employment even during harvesting seasons. This labour force, on the other hand, lacks the initiative and imagination to find alternative sources of employment for themselves, although in rural areas there exists a vast potential for productive activities other than agriculture, wherein a large part of the labour force could be absorbed. On these grounds, the Bureau of Manpower, Employment and Training (BMET) in collaboration with ILO introduced the 'Rural Investment Schedule' concept on an experimental basis in some villages in a pilot *thana*. The project envisages that the landless and the marginal farmers who are looking for jobs are to be organized into homogeneous occupational groups which are given information about self-employment prospects in different occupations that can be instituted in the area. The need for capital, training etc. for self-employment in these occupations is also explained to them. The groups then hold meetings themselves and prepare viable projects for self-employment in the chosen occupations.

Efforts of voluntary organizations in rural development

A large number of voluntary organizations have been working in the rural areas since the liberation of Bangladesh. Although it is not possible to describe here all the activities of each of these organizations, mention may be made of the most important ones.

CORR is perhaps the largest voluntary organization, which raised a substantial fund for relief operations as well as development efforts. Its main emphasis is on helping to increase agricultural production, restoration of communication services, and building rural institutions such as co-operatives. In most cases it tries to follow the basic principles of Comilla co-operatives and introduces similar methods such as savings, training, use of irrigation, and HYV.

CARE provided low-cost housing materials and supervised the 'Food for Work' Programme which created employment for the poor and opportunities for the rural labour force.

MCC has earned a reputation of doing good work in the coastal areas. It has tried to introduce new crops, new methods of cultivation and set up co-operatives among those who were allotted government land for joint farming. However, as an instrument of social change, its success is negligible.

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The *BRAC* (Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee) is one of the few voluntary organizations managed entirely by Bangladesh personnel. It has built a cadre of field workers who have acquired a rural bias and appropriate attitudes to their work. It has a Training and Resource Centre of its own, in which it trains its own field workers and those of other organizations, as well as farmers. It has also developed training materials which are being widely used by other training institutions for rural development.

This organization emphasizes functional education and village workshops for the identification of problems and solutions. Village workers are assigned as field motivators, paramedics, and group leaders. They usually reside in a camp and make visits to selected villages. There are some pilot development projects being implemented with target groups of rural landless poor. Some of the target groups have been able to increase their earnings by undertaking income-raising activities such as duckery, ground-nut cultivation, fish-net-making, or fish culture. The organization has been praised by many people and needs to be evaluated to ascertain its achievements and failures.

Formal and nonformal education in rural development

(a) *The formal education system* (Quadir, 1983)

Only 22 per cent of Bangladesh's population are literate—27 per cent of the male and 13 per cent of the female population. For rural areas, the rates are 25 per cent and 10 per cent, respectively. Despite numerous additions, over the last 30 years, of scientific, professional, vocational and functional education, the basic education structure, according to Ellen Sattar (1979) remains what it was during colonial days when it served the needs of the colonial government. The same author asserts that

—The education system lacks a clear philosophy and rational planning. There is hardly any consistency and linkages between the various levels, on the one hand, and socio-economic objectives and societal needs on the other.

—90 per cent of the rural population have no access to modern medicine; many tubewells and irrigation pumps are not repaired or function below capacity for lack of mechanics to repair them; expansion of electrification also suffers from lack of skilled electricians and maintenance personnel. Neither the formal nor the informal system provides sufficient skill training to meet these technological needs of a progressing rural society.

—The system has become more anti-people than in colonial times, in the sense that local communities and local government are no longer involved in the management and running of schools in any meaningful manner.

—The administration of the education system is in difficulties, it is centralized and unable to respond to the problems facing it today.

The end-result of primary, secondary and higher education is thus a small group of academically educated students who are drained off to the cities or even abroad, thus depleting the rural communities of their brightest and most educated members.

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Other educational experts (Chowdhury, 1983), too, assert that the existing system of education in Bangladesh is 'dysfunctional':

> 'Bangladesh does not help the child to affirm his relations with nature and other productive forces and as such does not impart receptiveness to change. The secondary education alienates an individual from the traditional society but does not reintegrate him with the modern sector. The institutions of higher education have become the 'constitutional refuge' of the disguised unemployed. That the education system is not at all utilitarian is attested by the fact that while Japan with only 8.4 million acres of rice-land and 24 per cent of its population in agriculture has a rice surplus after meeting the food requirements of its 100 million population, Bangladesh with 23 million acres of rice-land and 70 per cent of its population on agriculture is unable to feed its 85 million people'.

(i) *Primary education*. According to an NFRHRD survey in 1978 (Qadir and Ahmed, 1980; NFRHRD, 1983), there were 40,445 primary schools in Bangladesh. 91 per cent of the schools were located in rural and 9 per cent in urban areas. There were 2.73 schools per 1,000 school-age population in rural areas, 1.03 in Dhaka city and 2.60 in other urban areas in Bangladesh. There were an estimated number of 88,446 mosques (1.24 per village) and 67,338 *Maktab*s (0.94 per village)—elementary religious classes mostly attached to mosques, which could be utilized for advancing elementary education in general.

Seventy-two per cent of all teachers were trained. Only about 10 per cent of all teachers were female—5 per cent in rural areas and 45 per cent in urban areas.

Official enrolment in primary schools was recorded to be 48 per cent of the school-age population in 1978. Broken down between boys and girls, it was 58 per cent and 37 per cent in rural areas, 61 per cent and 50 per cent in urban areas, and 42 per cent and 37 per cent in Dhaka city. However, a national in-depth household survey pointed to only 39 per cent of the school-age population as currently going to school. Attendance on any particular day (in the rainy season) was found to be 23 per cent of school-age population for rural and 36 per cent for urban areas.

About 80 per cent of the primary-school students dropped out before they reached the final year (i.e. class V). As many as 50 per cent dropped out in class I; this, however, is ambiguous: traditionally, the primary schools treat two groups of students in class I—a 'baby' class with very young and underprepared children, and a real class I. Naturally, the former group cannot be promoted to class II. The Government, however, does not recognize the existence of the 'baby' class. Hence the phenomenon of swelling of student numbers in class I. The schools are also compelled to register an optimum number of school population (i.e. 200) in order to get Government support in terms of grants and teachers. All those names registered for the 'baby class' are not fictitious; they exist in the rural families and make their appearance in the school occasionally if not regularly. The fact, however, remains that on an average only 11 students successfully complete primary education (pass class

187

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V) out of an initial 100. Final output per teacher works out to be only 2.65. According to the NFRHRD study, 'a susbtantial amount of both school and teachers capacity remains unutilized'.

The above-mentioned study identified a major cause of non-enrolment and drop-out as embedded in the social structure characterized by inequality and widespread poverty. Educational disparity was found to be less in high-literacy villages than in low-literacy villages (Gini coefficients being 0.541 and 0.748 respectively). According to the study, some 30 per cent of the rural families sent all their children to primary school. They were generally characterized by higher educational level (indicated by educational attainment of adult members), higher income through diversified occupations (not merely agriculture) and smaller family norm (as reflected in a lower number of school-age children). The family's level of education was found to be the best predictor of children's participation in education. This, in turn, seemed to be a function of income backed by a certain minimum amount of land-holding. However, once this threshold of income and family education was attained, larger land-holding became regressive (for children's full educational participation) in that it possibly choked diversified economic enterprises. The reverse of the above conditions applied to the poorest stratum of the society, which never sent its children to school and which constituted some 53 per cent of the rural families. The lowest 30 per cent are so bonded in poverty and dependency that no matter how many schools or how many trained teachers are provided at their door, their children, like their parents and grandparents, are doomed to remain outside the orbit of even primary education.

(ii) *Agricultural education in colleges and universities.* It has been the growing realization of all that the objective of rural development requires a vigorous and sustained application of science and technology to the problems of agricultural production and rural development. This objective can be achieved only by developing high-quality education along with research facilities.

The development activities for agriculture have raised the demand for qualified and trained agricultural personnel in different disciplines of agricultural sciences. The country, however, lacks agricultural institutions at all levels for the promotion, development and expansion of agricultural education. The output of agricultural graduates and post-graduates from the Agricultural Institute (Dacca) and the Agricultural University (Mymensingh) is inadequate to meet the requirement of the country. It is estimated that the requirement of agricultural technicians and scientists over the next ten years will be around 7,000, while the existing institutions will be able to produce only about 3,000 qualified agricultural graduates. Current plans, therefore, are to set up one agricultural college in each of the four divisions in the country.

(b) *Nonformal training programmes in the rural sector*

(i) *Training and extension services under the IRDP.* Training, extension and promotional services constitute important components of integrated develop-

188 BEST COPY AVAILABLE

ment efforts. An elaborate training and extension programme is thus undertaken every year by IRDP. For the development of the co-operative activities, a group approach in training and extension is followed. Training held in the TTDC under the auspices of the TTCA is designed to provide the group leaders with basic knowledge in productive and promotional activities. The leaders, in turn, are to train the members of the KSS in regular meetings. Each KSS elects a representative, called Model Farmer, to be trained in TTDC and to subsequently train the KSS members. The model farmers thus act as extension agents.

Besides member education and training, the co-operative personnel, such as the managers of the KSS, are trained in co-operative principles and management.

The IRDP key personnel in the TCCAs are given higher training at different training institutions, such as BARD (Comilla), the Rural Development Academy (Bogra), and the Rural Development Training Institute (Sylhet).

(ii) *Extension education: Training and Visit System (T&V).* Extension education should be linked to actual farming practices. With this in mind the extension services of the Department of Agriculture have been designed to disseminate modern agricultural practices through 'barefoot' extension agents under the Training and Visit System recently introduced in some pilot *thana*s of Bangladesh. While the Model Farmer system of IRDP is expected to involve a larger number of local extension agents and thereby make their knowledge easily available among the general farmers, the T & V system attempts to bring the expertise of trained professionals to bear on the day-to-day activities of the farmers.

(iii) *Other institutional training.* In the rural development sector a number of agencies have developed their own training facilities. To co-ordinate these, a National Council for Rural Training (NCRT) has been set up, on which the Planning Commission, the Ministries of Agriculture and Forests, Local Government, Rural Development and Co-operatives, and Fishery and Livestock, and others are represented. The NCRT is also active in the preparation and production of training materials.

Ten Agricultural Training Institutes for village extension agents, one Graduate Training Centre for in-service training of graduate officials belonging to different Ministries, and four sub-centres in 10 *thana*s under the Ministry of Agriculture and Forests, as well as 15 *Thana* Training Units for the residential training of model farmers, managers and others under the Ministry of Local Government, Rural Development and Co-operatives have been strengthened or set up.

The Agricultural Information Service has been made responsible for the preparation of training materials and publication of booklets, posters, flip charts, etc., for both the Ministry of Agriculture and Forests and the Ministry of Local Government, Rural Development, and Co-operatives. The Central

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Extension Resources Development Institute is being used for the in-service training of the field staff of the Ministry of Agriculture as well as for research and practical demonstration in extension techniques.

(c) *Primary health care*
Health for all by 2000 A.D. is the broad national objective, and primary health-care has been accepted as the key to attain this objective. The primary-health-care system is to be delivered through Family Welfare Centres, integrated health and family-planning services provided through field workers, one for every 3,000 population, and hospitals at the *thana* level.

Under the referral system patients from rural areas will be sent up to higher institutions while at the same time teams of specialists from district hospitals will visit the *thana* Health Centres to provide better-quality services on the spot.

(d) *Social welfare services*
The Department of Social Welfare has a number of programmes in rural areas. The objectives of 'Rural Social Services' are ambitious and comprehensive, though little is known about their actual coverage. They call for special attention and assistance to out-of-school children and youth, women, the landless, the handicapped and such other disadvantaged community groups; this involves nonformal education for illiterates but also employment-promotion and income-generation activities in the rural ares.

The search for an integrated development administration
Bangladesh's second Five-Year Plan (1980–85) is focused on rural development, which implies the simultaneous increase in agricultural production, rapid generation of income and employment, improvement in human resources, reduction of inequality and poverty, a tuning-up of the social and cultural aspects of rural life, and greater participation of the people in planning and development. It is recognized that a mere sectoral approach dealing with any single aspect of rural development will not be adequate to bring about overall socio-economic development of the rural areas. Since rural development covers such a broad spectrum of development activities, no single Ministry can address itself to this vast subject adequately without a broad-based co-ordinating mechanism at the highest national level.

(a) *The National Council for Food, Agriculture, and Rural Development.* A National Council for Food, Agriculture and Rural Development was, therefore, set up in December, 1980. This Council oversees a multi-level administrative structure which is to ensure the integrated development of all aspects of rural life.

Prior to 1982 (before declaration of Martial Law), the National Council was headed by the Honourable President, and included the Prime Minister, the Deputy Prime Ministers and fourteen other members of the Cabinet. This

190 BEST COPY AVAILABLE

high-powered council could co-opt official and non-official members as and when necessary; senior officials of the Ministries concerned had to be present at the meetings of the Council.

The co-ordinated policies of the Council extended to matters of agriculture, rural employment, the building of infrastructures, provision of inputs and credit, the condition of rural women, and improvement in the lot of landless and marginal farmers.

To this end, the Council could review the activities and schemes of all Ministries involved in rural development; it tried, chiefly through the IRDP, to bring a co-ordinated approach to rural development from the national to the field level; and finally, to evolve a system of village-level planning and implementation of development work.

(b) *Reorganization of the administration at the thana level.* In 1982, the Government decided to reorganize the administration at the *thana* level. Under this reorganized set-up, responsibility for all development activities at the local level shall be transferred to the *Thana Parishad*. The Government, on the other hand, retains the direct responsibility for major development activities of national and regional coverage.

Officers dealing with subjects transferred to the *Thana Parishad* will be accountable to the respective *Thana Parishad*. The Government departments they come from, however, will continue to be responsible for their appointment, transfer, promotion, discipline and remuneration. Even those officers dealing with subjects retained by the Government will be answerable to the *Thana Parishad*.

3. Physical description and socio-economic characteristics of the study areas

Despite the fact that Bangladesh is a small country, there is conspicuous socio-cultural and economic variation from one region to another. The major aim of this study was to assess the rôle and impact of education in integrated rural development. Hence, in selecting the study area, we focused on the level of literacy of a particular village compared to the national literacy level as per last census report.

Despite the predominance of rural characteristics in Bangladesh, there has been a gradually increasing urban influence in areas surrounding big cities. Therefore, in selecting the study area, two separate *thanas*, namely, Manikganj (forty miles from the capital city of Dhaka) and Natore (one-hundred-and-seventy miles from the capital city) have been selected deliberately to make a comparison and assessment of the urban/semi-urban-influenced villages with villages having extreme rural characteristics.

From each of the above two *Thanas*, two villages—one high- and one low-literacy village—were selected (see Table 9).

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TABLE 9. The study areas

Name of the Thana	Union	High-literacy village	Low-literacy village	Literacy rate (%)
Manikganj	Dighi	South Pathrail		33.1
	Zagir		Angutia	3.4
Natore	Tabaria	Chakmusuria		29.0
	Kafuria		Chandanpur	5.0

Manikganj Thana

Manikganj *Thana* is located on the north-western side of the capital city of Dhaka and at a distance of about forty miles. It is connected with the city by an all-weather metalled road. The sub-divisional headquarters is also located at Manikganj, from where magistracy and law and order are maintained by the Government officials posted at the subdivisional level. All development activities are directly implemented by the *thana* authorities and officials located at the *thana* campus known as the TTDC. The *thana* headquarters of Manikganj may be termed a semi-urban area having good communication facilities, electrification, and other trade and business activities with the city of Dhaka. The total population of this *thana* is about 161,134 as per 1974 census, and the number of unions is 9.

(a) *South Pathrail village*. Dighi union consists of 26 villages, and the total population of the union was 11,152 at the 1974 census. The name of the village selected from this union is South Pathrail. According to the 1974 census the rate of literacy of the village was 33.1 per cent, which was well above the national literacy rate of 26 per cent. Hence the village may be termed a high-literacy village. South Pathrail village has 117 households with a population of 609—276 males and 333 females. The average size of the family is 5.2. The village lies on the western side of the Dhaka-Aricha highway and has good road communication facilities. The distance between the village and Manikganj town is about three miles.

The total number of sample households taken from South Pathrail was 46. Among these 46 families, 29 are of the nuclear type, while the rest constitute joint families where the couple lives with unmarried children, parents and unmarried sisters and brothers. Among the 46 households, major occupations of the families were as follows: 11 households have agriculture or farming as major occupation, 12 families are dependent on earnings from services, 5 on business, 8 as day-labourers and the remaining 10 households are earning their livelihood by other occupations.

Village conflicts and disputes are usually referred to the village *Samaj* (informal conciliation body consisting of village elders and leaders). South Pathrail village is divided into two *para*s (neighbourhoods): one called *Khan-para* and the other called *Sheikha para* or *Mollah para*. Two powerful kinship

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groups exercise authority in these two *para*s. The Khans are relatively richer and educated and exercise control over the whole village. Village disputes are mostly about possession of lands or marriage, monetary matters, etc. of which land is the most important factor. The leaders of the respective *para*s are responsible for resolving such disputes in their area. These informal bodies often fail to dispense justice for matters relating to the poor and disadvantaged groups of the community.

The village has one primary school where children are taught up to the fifth class. It is a government-aided school. But its physical condition as well as management is very poor and the parents from the rich classes do not usually send their wards to this school. They usually send their boys and girls to schools either at Manikganj or Dhaka.

The level of living of the people can be judged to some extent by looking at the houses in which they live. A majority of the houses are of *kutcha* (less durable—mud and thatch) construction. Very few houses have roofs with corrugated-iron sheets. There is not a single house in the village made entirely of brick.

(b)*Angutia village*. Angutia, a small village with few people, is located four miles off Manikganj town. The Dhaka-Aricha road passes by the side of the village, while the river Dhaleswari flows calmly on its western side.

The total population of the village is 101, with 19 households and an average family size of 5.3. Despite its nearness to the sub-divisional town and national highway, the village lacks necessary amenities and facilities such as electricity, storage go-downs, or *pucca* internal roads. Moreover, there is no school or college in this village and the rate of literacy as revealed through the 1974 census is only 3.4 per cent. This shows a deplorably low literacy-level of the village compared to the national literacy rate, and hence it is considered as a low-literacy village for this study.

There is no co-operative society in Angutia. The village seems to be very backward in agricultural productivity and there does not exist any kind of tubewell for irrigation purposes. Only two hand-tubewells have been found in operation, which are the primary source of supplying drinking water to a few families. Besides, there are no cultural and social activities and there is no club or organization worth mentioning in this village. Moreover, the village is controlled by a few who are dominant over others through their ownership of most landed property in the village. It transpires from the discussion with the local people that after the acquisition of large areas of the village for the establishment of a Government Jute Research Centre during the 1960s most of the well-to-do people left the village, either for settlement or for jobs at Manikganj or Dhaka. This might be one of the reasons for the backwardness of the village in respect of attaining literacy, raising productivity and achieving wealth.

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Natore Thana

The Natore *thana* is located in the district of Rajshahi, about one-hundred-and-seventy miles away from Dhaka. The distance between the *thana* headquarters and the Rajshahi divisional headquarters is more than thirty miles. It is one of the three old *thanas* outside Comilla where the integrated rural development activities were initiated in 1963 by the Bangladesh Academy for Rural Development (BARD). Since then rural development activities and co-operative extension work have been introduced under the direct supervision of the IRDP officials posted there.

Natore *thana* consists of 13 unions and 256 villages. The total population of this *thana* is 213,885. Total number of households is 35,440. The names of the high- and low-literacy villages selected for the present study are Chakmusuria and Chandanpur.

(a) *Chakmusuria village*. Chakmusuria is located 5 miles away from Natore *thana* headquarters and is connected by a *kutcha* road. There is a railroad link and a train-stop near the village, by which the people of Chakmusuria travel to Natore and elsewhere. It is a very small village, having 28 households and an area of about 81 acres. The total population of Chakmusuria is 222. Although the village does not have any educational institution, there are a primary school and a high school located in the neighbouring villages. The rate of literacy of the village according to the 1974 census is 29 per cent.

The inhabitants of the village attend their weekly market in the nearby village, where they sell their produce and make purchases. There is no electricity in the village, nor is there a storage go-down or warehousing facility available. There does not exist any co-operative society in Chakmusuria but it appears from the discussion with the villagers that they are eager to organize one. A deep tubewell is located in the nearby village from where the farmers of the village obtain irrigation water for crop-cultivation, though for only a fraction of their agricultural land.

The occupational distribution of the households shows that about 66.67 per cent are engaged in agriculture while 22.22 per cent and 3 per cent of the households have their major occupation as service and day-labour, respectively.

There are no modern clubs or cultural organizations in the village, and the villagers for their disputes and conflicts seek the assistance of the village leaders for mediation and solution. In case of failure they are free to attend the court located at Natore.

(b) *Chandanpur village*. Chandanpur is comparatively bigger than Chakmusuria in respect of area and population. There are 78 households in the village, with a total population of 314. If one has to reach this village from the *thana* headquarters one will be required to go four miles on foot from the *pucca* road three miles off Natore towards Rajshahi.

The rate of literacy of the village according to the 1974 Census is 5.0 per

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cent. The village has a school attached to the mosque where children attend classes for their elementary and primary education. There is no market in the village. The only co-operative society that exists in this village has been inactive for quite a long time, and there is lack of leadership among the villagers to revive it. Most of the inhabitants of the village are dependent on agriculture for their livelihood. A significant proportion of the villagers are also engaged as day-labourers while the rest are earning their livelihood from petty business, trading, or similar activities. There are no significant social or cultural activities in Chandanpur; the usual village conflicts and disputes are resolved at the behest of the local leaders, who possess more land and have higher earnings than others in the village.

4. Descriptive analysis of the sample household data

Some demographic features

(a) *Family size.* The average household (family) size for the 143 sample households in four villages is 6.3. Although family size is slightly higher in the two Hi-lit villages compared to the two Lo-lit villages, the real difference seems to be between the regions, Natore showing a much higher size. Natore has a significantly higher proportion of households with cultivable land and depending on agriculture.

(b) *Age-sex composition.* The sex-ratio (male per 100 female) for 143 households in four villages is 111.5. This imbalance in favour of males appears to be particularly high for the region of Manikganj.

Taking the 15-54 age-category to represent working population, the dependency ratio works out to be 136. Every member of the working population must, in other words, support an average of 1.36 persons who are too young or too old to be economically productive. In general, Lo-lit villages and the Natore region show a higher dependency ratio. This is especially due to the larger proportion of those younger than 10, likely to contain the great majority of primary-school-age children.

(c) *Family composition.* Among 143 heads of households, 88 per cent are currently married. For Hi-lit villages, the proportion of households heads who are unmarried is notably higher than in Lo-lit villages. Taking all 143 households in the 4 villages, a typical household with 6.3 members has this composition: 1 head (.92 male, .08 female), 0.89 wife, 1.70 sons, 1.42 daughters, 0.37 grandchild, 0.28 brother, 0.16 mother, 0.15 daughter-in-law. The remaining 0.30 is distributed among such relations as sister, father, brother's wife, brother's son, brother's daughter, grandmother, etc. It is interesting that usually a rural family needs one adult female 'manager figure', who is usually the head's wife, in the absence of which a mother, a mother-in-law or an elderly sister may step in. This may be seen from the typical numbers of

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wives/mothers in Hi- and Lo-lit villages, 0.90-0.13 and 0.87-0.20 respectively.

(d) *Birth and death rates.* The interviews included questions concerning the number of births that had taken place in the household over the past year, as well as deaths that had occurred over the past two years. On this basis, birth and death rates (per 1,000 population) were established as 33.3 and 12.2, respectively. This gave an annual population increment of 2.11 per cent, considerably less than the national average. This is to be expected, as the villages are subject to urban influence, and, together, enjoy a literacy rate higher than the national average. Between Hi- and Lo-lit study-villages, death and birth rates are 10.2/'000, 35.0/'000 and 14.5 and 31.3/'000 respectively, the population increments being 2.48 and 1.68 respectively. This, too, could be expected, since the relative affluence of Hi-lit villages may have reduced infant mortality. However, the distinction between Hi- and Lo-lit villages is in reality not so straightforward. For example, the village Angutia in Manikganj—a Lo-lit village— has a very high mortality rate (24.8/'000) and birth rate (49.5/'000), a feature ascribed to highly traditional societies. In the same region the Hi-lit village shows a very low mortality rate (9.5/'000) and a sufficiently low birth rate (26.5/'000). In Natore, the Lo-lit village shows low death rate (11.2/'000) as well as sufficiently low birth rate (25.5), whereas the Hi-lit village shows a low death rate (11.3/'000) but a high birth rate (45.1/'000).

(e) *Migration.* Hi-lit villages have proportionately more households of local origin, compared to Lo-lit villages. Of the non-locals, 48 per cent came before 1947 (time of independence from British rule), 19 per cent came after 1947 and 33 per cent after 1965 (year of India-Pakistan war).

It is generally assumed that immigrants may be more innovative and gain in economic status. At least in the Lo-lit village in Natore, we observed that non-locals introduced for the first time in the locality banana plantations which earned profit, a practice subsequently followed by the local households. In our sample, not a single non-local household belonged, however, to the upper two categories of economic and social status. Educationally, these households conformed to the general distribution.

2. Economic status and income

(a) *Economic status.* Across the four villages and 143 households, about 18 per cent of all households belong to the upper economic strata with a comfortable life, 29 per cent to the middle class with a subsistence life and 53 per cent to the extremely poor stratum. It may be pointed out that no household in our sample villages, or for that matter in most villages of Bangladesh, may be termed as 'very high status' whether judged in terms of landownership, income, or life style. Over the years poverty has increased in the rural areas of Bangladesh, where more than 80 per cent of the households have been reported to be below the poverty line and about 40 per cent in absolute poverty.

196 BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Regionwise, there does not appear to be any difference in the proportion of households in the two uppermost strata. On the other hand, when villages are classified by high and low literacy, sizeable differences emerge. The upper-economic strata account for 24 per cent of all households in Hi-lit villages, compared to only 12 per cent households in Lo-lit villages. The percentages in the poorest strata are 14 and 30 respectively, the difference again being noteworthy.

(b) *Income.* As a test of validity of our above measure of economic status, we made an effort to assess household income by referring to different sources and expenditure, although the difficulty of obtaining a reliable measure in the rural areas of an LDC such as Bangladesh is well known.

An income below Tk. 5,000/- relates virtually to sub-human life, characteristic of 35 per cent of all households. The next category, with an income between Tk. 5,000/- and 10,000/-, would still be considered in the poor category. On the other extreme, an income above Tk. 24,000/-, enjoyed by about 10 per cent of the households, may be considered as affluent. There is significant difference in the proportion of households in the high-income and low-income categories between Hi- and Lo-lit villages. To that extent, the validity of economic-status assessment attempted above is confirmed.

(c) *Sources of income.* Taking all 143 households in the four villages, 54 per cent of their income is derived from agricultural production (which exactly fits with the national income contribution), 13 per cent from day labour (10 per cent relating to agricultural labour), 24 per cent from services involving salary, and 10 per cent from business and professions. Regions as well as high- or low-literacy sets of villages show significant differences in the distribution of sources of income. Agricultural production in Natore accounts for 70 per cent of the total income, compared to 31 per cent in Manikganj, the major explanation being that the villages in Natore are better endowed with cultivable land. The sets of Hi-lit and Lo-lit villages differ in the proportions of income derived from agricultural production: 43 per cent and 69 per cent respectively. There is significant difference in the proportions of income derived from day labour between Hi- and Lo-lit villages, these being 6 per cent and 22 per cent respectively. The reverse is true of salary, service and professions, which account for 50 per cent and 9 per cent respectively.

Social status and housing

In Bangladesh, as in other traditional societies, cognizance is taken of social status as distinct from economic status, although the two are found to be highly correlated. A financially poor family may command high social respect because of lineage, learning or occupation (e.g., religious leader). On the other hand, a financially rich family may be held in low social esteem (e.g., in Hindu caste hierarchy, practising usury, occupations such as weaving, oil pressing, etc.).

197

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Very low social status may be a hindrance to adopting innovative practices, since such practices require breaking traditional norms. It is difficult for a low-status family to do so.

There does not appear to be a significant difference in the distribution of households according to social status between the two regions. However, social status is significantly different between Hi- and Lo-lit villages—in the former 19 per cent of the households belong to the higher social-status category, compared to 5 per cent in Lo-lit villages. On the other hand, 55 per cent of the households in Hi-lit villages belong to the lower social-status category, compared to 71 per cent of the households in Lo-lit villages. This very high proportion of households whose social status is perceived as low may be a constraint on participatory development involving the rural masses.

Housing status. In Bangladesh villages, construction of dwelling-houses depends on ecological conditions, especially the onslaught of rains, flood, river-breaches, but also on the social and economic prestige of the households. All-brick or *pucca* houses are extremely rare—signifying high affluence. Most houses are built of mud and thatch known as *kutcha*, which requires frequent repair and renovation. Taking all 141 households (2 being homeless) in the four villages, only about 3 per cent of their dwelling-rooms are found to be *pucca*, 10 per cent semi-*pucca*, 43 per cent semi-*kutcha* and 44 per cent all-*kutcha*. Between the two regions, Manikganj appears to significantly surpass Natore in the quality of houses. Probably our sample villages in Manikganj have been subject to urban influence. Similar differentiation in favour of Hi-lit villages for *pucca* and semi-*pucca* houses has been observed across regions.

Landownership

In Bangladesh villages, land has traditionally been a symbol of prestige, security and income. Land is predominantly used for subsistence type paddy-culture. Due to high population density and growth, landlessness and marginalization is overtaking the great majority of the rural households. At present, more than 50 per cent of the households have less than 0.5 acres of land and are considered to be landless. They depend mostly on wages from casual day labour or share-cropping. With appropriate water management, it is held that 2 acres of double-cropped (which is pervasive) cultivable land is sufficient to meet the food and other needs of an average family with 5-6 members.

For all 143 households in the 4 villages, we find only 7 per cent as absolutely landless, which is far less than the national average (nearly 20 per cent); but if we consider ownership of 0.5 acres of land as the limit there are 46 per cent landless households, close to the national average. Thirteen per cent of the households have cultivable land of 5 acres and above. Over the past thirty or forty years, there has been some addition in the upper land-holding class (say from 5-10 to 10-15 per cent) and considerable addition to the landless class (say from 20 to 50 per cent), with a consequent narrowing of the middle class.

198 BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Landless homes predominate in Manikganj compared to Natore—63 per cent against 31 per cent. This may not be indicative of more pauperization in Manikganj, if income-augmenting occupational diversification away from dependency on land has taken place there. This will be explored further in the succeeding sections.

Between the sets of Hi- and Lo-literacy villages, there does not appear to be any significant difference in the proportion of landless households, although the proportion with higher amounts of land appears to be a little higher in the case of Hi-lit villages (15 as against 10 per cent).

Agricultural production and innovativeness

The percentage distribution of productivity (annual food-grain production per acre) across the study villages has been studied, distinguishing eight production ranges (for local and high-yielding varieties of food crops taken together). It appears that there is no household of the Hi-lit village of Natore having a productivity level of food-grain crops at the bottom range of 0-9 *maund*s per acre, whereas in the same range the percentage of households in the Lo-lit village has been 8.4. As the production level increases, the percentage of households falling within 10-19 and 20-29 also increases, and thereafter the trend declines in the Hi-lit village. Although a similar trend of production has been observed for the Lo-lit village, the percentage of households in higher-productivity ranges is smaller. A more or less similar trend of production performance has been found to exist in the Hi- and Lo-lit villages of Manikganj area. From the total average of Hi- and Lo-lit villages of both the areas it appears that 33.1 per cent of households—the modal range—obtained a yield of grain-crops ranging from 20-29 *maund*s per acre; this conforms more or less to the situation for the whole of Bangladesh, where the average production of the same crop has been calculated to be around 22 *maund*s per acre. It is evident in both Natore and Manikganj areas that a greater percentage of households in the Hi-lit villages have become accustomed to the use of fertilizer, HYV seeds, irrigation, institutional credit, and also enrolled more frequently as members of the co-operative village societies. That co-operative membership is as low as 12 per cent even in high-literacy villages, is explained by the simple fact that the village co-operatives are practically defunct. On the whole, however, it appears that there exists positive correlation between agricultural productivity and the exposure of villagers in using modern agricultural inputs, their participation in co-operative institutions, and their more frequent utilization of institutional credit facilities.

Occupational status

Until 1950, when *Zamindary* (landlordism) was abolished and rent-collection was taken over by the Government from the *zamindar*s, a typical village would consist of a landed aristocracy (say 5 per cent), mostly absent but visiting the

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village during vacations usually coinciding with religious ceremonies, owner-farmers (say 60 per cent), share-croppers and agricultural labourers (say 30 per cent). Then there would be those in profession, service or caste occupations—religious leaders, priests, schoolteacher, doctors, watchmen, itinerant traders, washermen, barbers, carpenters, potters, cobblers, blacksmiths, etc., generally serving a combination of villages. Women did and still do unpaid household work—looking after the comfort of man because it is religiously ordained and he is the bread-earner for the family, rearing children, cooking, caring for domestic animals and post-harvest operations that take place within the home premises. They are not categorized into any occupational group, except for very few who take up directly income-earning activities.

The abolition of landlordism, population growth and opportunities in the wake of 'development' (such as the Green Revolution, rural infrastructure building, etc.) have contributed to the replacement of the old feudal class by a class of 'surplus farmers-cum-traders-cum-money-lenders' (nearly 10-20 per cent), a diminishing lower-middle class of farmers, and a preponderant class of day-labourers. For most families in rural Bangladesh it is becoming more and more difficult to survive by a single occupation—agricultural production or agricultural labour. Most households combine agriculture, business (especially petty trade), profession, services, and day-labour to survive or even make profit. It has been observed in the course of the present research that economic status is generally higher for those combining agriculture (with land-ownership) and business/service/profession, either one serving as the major or subsidiary occupation according to circumstances. The day-labourer may also take up agriculture (share-cropping, renting-in) and trade, or the smallholder may engage in day labour. But no combination with day labour is expected to alleviate poverty.

Given this observation, we proceeded to combine different occupations into three broad groups: (A) agriculture, (B) business/profession/service, and (C) day labour. A significant difference is observed in the occupational combinations between regions. In Natore, the highest proportion of households (35 per cent) accounts for the single occupation of agriculture, followed by day labour (30 per cent) and a combination of agriculture-day labour (14 per cent), as against Manikganj's 14 per cent, 23 per cent and 8 per cent respectively. On the other hand, in Manikganj, the highest proportion of households (26 per cent) accounts for a single or combined occupation service/business/profession followed by day labour (23 per cent)) and day labour-agriculture (17 per cent). Natore is significantly low in service/business/profession. This is consistent with Natore's better endowment and distribution of agricultural land, as well as Manikganj's greater proximity to urban centres. Between the Hi- and Lo-lit villages there are some noteworthy differences (see Table 10 overleaf).

The Lo-lit villages are distinct in the preponderance of day labour. On the other hand, Hi-lit villages are noteworthy for the frequency of the category service/business/profession, and for the combination of service/business/profession and agriculture.

200 BEST COPY AVAILABLE

TABLE 10. Occupational differences between villages (in percentages)

	Hi-lit villages	Lo-lit villages
Day labour (C)	11	43
Service/business/prof. (B)	25	3
Agriculture (A)	23	28
B + A	18	3
A + C	14	9

Level of living

We devised a scale for the household level of living (LL) by assigning appropriate scores for the presence of various items, as shown in Table 11.

TABLE 11. Elements of level of living

A. Illumination at night	*Kupi*-1/Hurricane lamp-2/*hazak*-3/electricity-4.
B. Cooking & dining	earthenware-1/plastic-2/aluminium-3/glass-4/tea-set-5/dinner-set-6/etc.
C. Furniture	Mat-1/cot-2/chair-3/table-3/*almirah*-3/*palanka*-4/dressing-table-4/*alna*-4.
D. Modern items	Nothing-0/kerosene stove-3/watch-4/clock-4/radio-5/sewing-machine-4/television-6/etc.
E. Transport (own)	Nothing-0/bicyle-3/motor-cycle-6/boat-5/cart-5/etc.
F. Cultural items	No book-0/religious book-1/children's textbook-1/novels-3/newspaper, magazine-5/etc.
G. Agricultural items	Poultry-1/bull-4/cow-4/plough-3.
H. Toilet	Open-1/*kutcha*-2/*pucca*-6.

A + B + C .....+ G + H = [range: 5-41].

A household may possess more than one item under each category. But in the summation of the scores, only one item with the highest score has been considered. Thus for any household the level of living (LL) score or index may range from 5-41.

As to the individual items, only a few highlights may be given: as many as 43 per cent of the households in all four villages are found to use only *kupi*, a low-cost device with a pot and wick immersed in kerosene, as a source of light. Four per cent of all households do not have even a mat (made from grass or bamboo-skin) to sleep on; 44 per cent have a simple cot and 14 per cent have a fashionable cot known as *palanka*.

In any case, higher-order items such as *palanka*, dressing-table, *almirah* and cloth-stand seem to be the exclusive preserve of Hi-lit villages. As many as 70 per cent of all households do not have a single item such as a watch, kerosene stove, sewing-machine, or a radio.

Ninety per cent of all households in the 4 villages do not own any means of transport, 4 per cent have a bicycle (all in Hi-lit villages), and another 6 per

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cent have a boat or a cart—again mostly in Hi-lit villages. 49 per cent did not have books of any sort, 18 per cent had nothing more than school textbooks, 20 per cent had only religious books, 11 per cent had novels and only 3 per cent had newspapers and periodicals. There did not appear to be any regional difference, but a significant difference between Hi- and Lo-lit villages. Hi-lit villages had 27 per cent households with no book whatsoever against 73 per cent households in Lo-lit villages. Newspapers and periodicals are found only in Hi-lit villages.

Finally, as many as 20 per cent among all 143 households—28 per cent in Lo-lit villages and 14 per cent in Hi-lit villages—do not own anything such as poultry, a bullock, a cow, or a plough; only 9 per cent have a plough—which, after all, is indispensable for cultivation.

Comprehensive level of living index. The major theme of our research is to relate the concepts of education and integrated rural development to quality of life. The comprehensive level-of-living (LL) score has been devised to serve as an, admittedly crude, indicator of quality of life. To this end, the range 5-41 has been divided into five classes, roughly corresponding to the five economic-status classes. High correlation of the LL score with indicators such as economic status, income, social status, education, etc., is expected to be a test of validity of our measures and concepts.

Combining the upper two into High and the lower two into Low, it is found

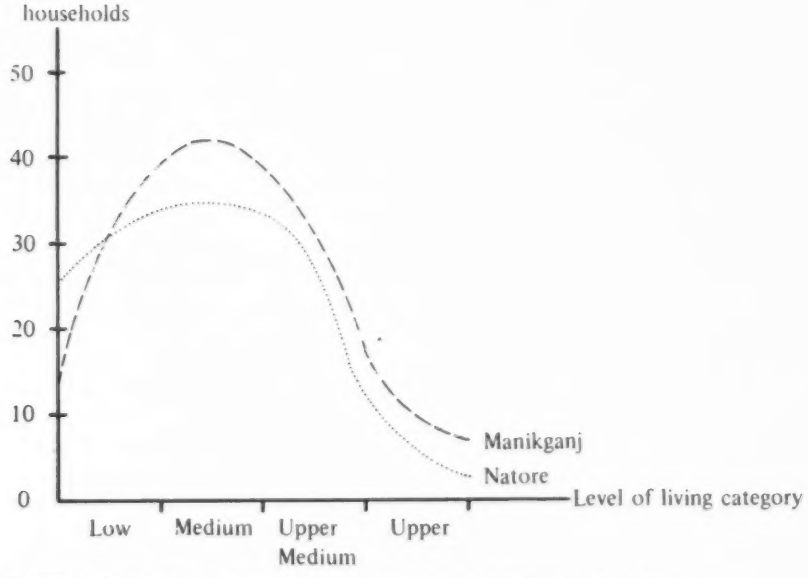

FIGURE 4. *Distribution of households according to level of living: (a) by region.*

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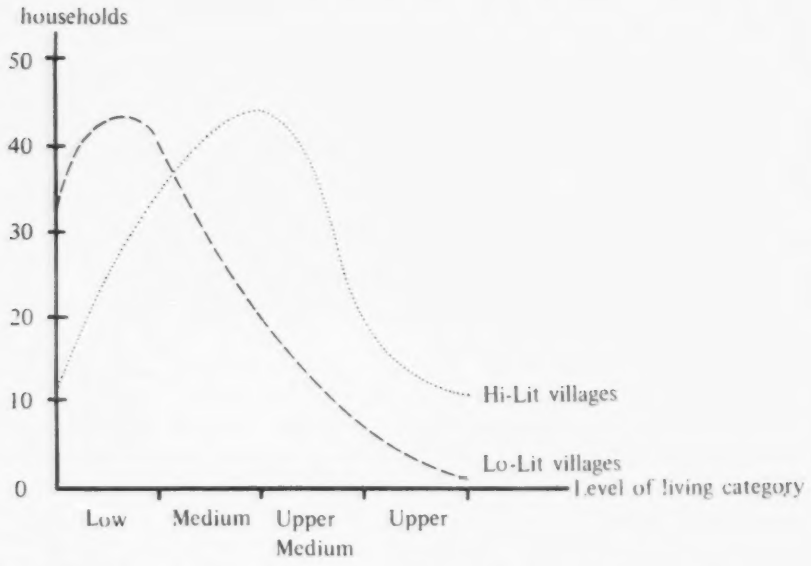

FIGURE 5. *Distribution of households according to level of living: (b) by literacy level.*

that of all 143 households, 16 per cent have a high, 36 per cent a medium, and 48 per cent a low level of living. The average score appears to be a little higher for Manikganj (14.7) than Natore (13.10) (see Figures 4 and 5). But the difference in the averages turns out to be much larger (i.e. 17.2-10.6) between Hi- and Lo-lit villages. The distribution of households is unimodal, near normal, and almost similar for Manikganj and Natore. However, for Hi-lit villages, the distribution appears to be more symmetric, compared to that in Lo-lit villages, which is skewed. One can conclude that the level of living has, in general, maintained a fairly equitable distribution, in that the upper classes have not been conspicuous in the maintenance of a luxurious life-style, given the distance they have from the rural masses in terms of income. This character of the rural upper class helps them use their surplus for saving and productive investment.

Attitudes and practices regarding health, family planning, and age at marriage

(a) *Treatment sought in case of illness.* Heads of household were asked what kind of treatment they usually seek in case of illness. The answers were related to the households' traditional/modern orientation. On the extreme traditional side is the belief in *jhar-foonk*—healing by blessings, holy water, amulets, etc.—then there may be dependence on *Kaviraji* or *Hekimi* (Ayurbedic and Unani system), and finally homeopathy and allopathy.

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Of all 143 households in the 4 villages, 34 per cent are found to be highly modern, 46 per cent modern and 20 per cent traditional. However, these proportions vary greatly between Hi- and Lo-lit villages. While in Hi-lit villages 57 per cent of the households followed modern medical practices and 11 per cent traditional practices, in Lo-lit villages the percentages are found to be 10 and 29 respectively.

(b) *Family-planning practice.* Among all four villages, 25.7 per cent of the households with eligible couples have adopted family planning in the form of birth control. This is much above the national rate (about 16 per cent) for the rural areas. The rate of adoption of FP has been higher (29.1 per cent) in Hi-lit villages compared to Lo-lit villages (22.2 per cent). Between regions Natore appears to have a much higher rate (30.6 per cent) compared to Manikganj (19.1). The generally high rate of adoption in our study area may be attributed to their nearness to urban centres and probable availability of FP services and literacy.

(c) *Ideal number of children.* Heads of household as well as persons above age 14 were asked about the ideal number of children (boys and girls) his/her own family should have; households of the community in general should have; and a newly-married couple should have planned. On an average 2.8 children are desired for both one's own family and others. Irrespective of types of village there is a slight male preference—1.6 boys as against 1.2 girls. For newly-married couples, there is only a slight decrease in the preferred number, i.e. 2.6. There is no noteworthy difference between Hi- and Lo-lit villages, but it is noteworthy for the two regions—Natore prefers 3.2 children as against Manikganj's 2.4. One explanation for this may be that Natore is more agricultural, with general availability of land, which may increase the value of children.

(d) *Preferred age at marriage.* In reply to the question as to what should be the ideal age for first marriage, heads of household favoured an average age of 16.8 for girls and 26.4 for boys. This appears to be much higher than the norms observed in previous studies for rural areas. In our study areas, the Hi-lit villages have shown preference for slightly higher ages (17.4 for girls and 27.0 for boys). Between Manikganj and Natore, the latter has shown preference for a slightly lower age for both girls and boys, probably, again, because of the predominance of the norms of an agricultural society.

Opinions about socio-economic change

(a) *Present economic condition of the household compared to the year 1971* (before liberation of Bangladesh). When asking household heads how their economic condition had changed since liberation days, 16 per cent thought that it had improved, 35 per cent thought it had remained the same, and 49 per cent thought that their condition had deteriorated. The major cause for deteriora-

204 BEST COPY AVAILABLE

tion was that 'income is not increasing in keeping with the rise in prices (of consumer goods) and number of family members'. Special mention was made of 'larger number of children'. Other causes were: lack of food production, particularly due to drought and floods, unemployment and low wages, selling out of their land. Proportionately more heads of households in Hi-lit villages spoke of deterioration compared to those in Lo-lit villages (53 *vs.* 44 per cent).

(b) *Whether family adopts change.* Asked whether they were willing to adopt change in their economic activities, 24 per cent of the households replied in the affirmative and 76 per cent in the negative. The affirmative replies were significantly more frequent in Hi-lit villages compared to Lo-lit villages (33 per cent *vs.* 14 per cent). Changes were mentioned in the sphere of adoption of HYV and irrigation, new ploughing methods, more of sugar-cane production than paddy because of profitability, and vegetable cultivation.

(c) *Ideas about resources in the family, village and outside.* Most households did not have any clear idea about what was meant by 'resources'. Land was considered to be important. For improvement of the condition of family and village, adoption of improved methods of cultivation was emphasized. In this regard a majority of families spoke of the need for government assistance in providing grants, loans, know-how and other inputs. Awareness was shown of growing landlessness and the need for providing more jobs, either in share-cropping or outside agriculture.

(d) *Opinion about local-government councils.* Most families had a very poor opinion about councils at the union and *thana* level as 'doing nothing'. There was hardly any participation on the part of a great majority of the households in any developmental activity. Regarding participation of women, a common remark, from 67 per cent of the heads of household, was that, 'they have nothing to do for development'. About half of the heads of households did not have any idea whatsoever about the meaning of 'self-reliance'.

Opinions about education

Heads and other adult members of household were asked about the educational facilities available in the village. It is noteworthy that 14 per cent of the heads of families and 48 per cent of the adult members could not provide a reply to this question.

When asked if they had any 'views' about the existing education system, 61 per cent of the heads and 77 per cent of other members remained silent. Most replies were patent: 'good', followed by 'standard of education and teaching method should be improved'; 'the poor cannot get any benefit, hence government should give attention to this problem'; 'education should ensure a job (especially 'service')'; 'no gain from religious education'; 'this type of education system cannot go on'.

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None of the respondents could think of other than formal schools for educational development. One or two respondents emphasized technical education. There was also a suggestion in favour of making separate arrangements for the education of the poor.

In reply to a general question, whether the people derived benefit from the existing educational system, half of the heads of families did not respond, 45 per cent said 'yes' and the remaining 5 per cent said 'no'. Of other adult members, 66 per cent remained silent, 20 per cent said yes, and 14 per cent said no.

In sum, it appears that most households do not have enough awareness about the education system, many are unable to send children to school because there is no school in the village or they are too poor. They can neither bear the expenses of the schooling, nor could they spare the children from work which contributes to earning the family's livelihood.

Levels of educational attainment

Taking all 143 heads of household in the 4 villages, 43 per cent are found to be illiterate, 18 per cent have attained between grade 1 and 4. 7 per cent attended grade 5 and passed primary (grade 5), 21 per cent attended between grade 6 and 10, 5 per cent passed SSC (grade 10), another 5 per cent reached HSC (grade 12) level or pass, and only one person has been found to be a graduate (grade 14 or above).

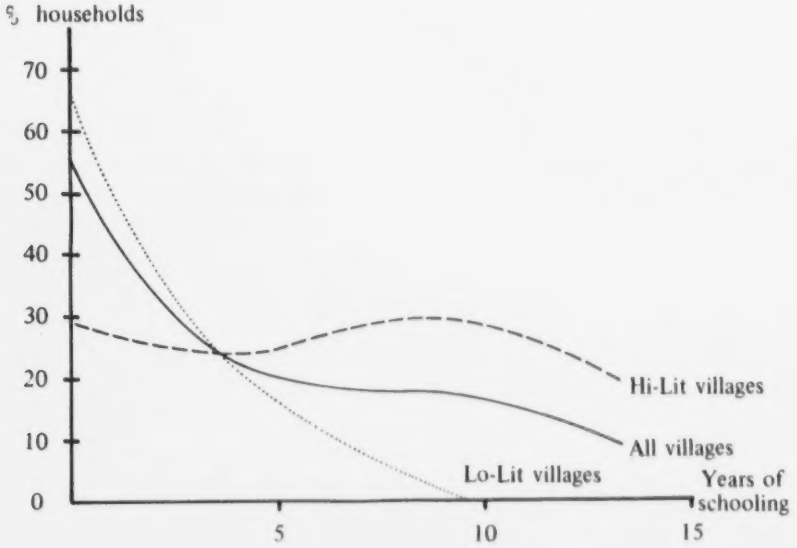

FIGURE 6: *Distribution of households according to Heads' educational status.*

206 BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Regionwise, although the extent of illiteracy is almost the same for Manikganj and Natore, a higher level of school and college education appears to have been achieved in Manikganj. Between Hi- and Lo-lit villages the differences are predictably very high.

Figure 6 shows the distribution of household-heads' educational attainment, separately for high- and low-literacy villages. The graph helps to discern a break-through beyond primary-level (grade 5) education in the Hi-lit villages.

Enrolment of school-age children

There are nearly 40,000 schools in the 68,000 villages of Bangladesh—one school per 1.3 square mile. Three of our sample villages do not have a primary school within the village itself, but in the neighbouring villages. The distances of the schools from the village centre are found to be not more than a mile or two. Nor are there any barriers (such as canal or hills) in the way.

Often, to allow for late entry and repeaters in rural areas, the age-group is stretched between 5 and 10. In fact, to find a twelve-year-old in the primary classes is not an uncommon phenomenon. Our recent as well as the present household-level inquiry virtually received no mention of drop-out in the case of the 5-9-year group and mention from only about 6 per cent of households in the case of the 10-14 year group. In effect, in Bangladesh society it is a simple matter of either attending or not attending school at all. Attending up to class 1 or 2 and then dropping out is equivalent to lapsing into illiteracy, as if never having attended school.

For our analysis, we have categorized families simply as (a) currently sending all school-age children to school; (b) currently sending some, but not all (which may also include drop-outs); and (c) sending none.

Although the Hi-lit and Lo-lit villages differ significantly in the proportion (82 per cent as against 31 per cent) of children, aged 5-14, currently going to school, all villages show a preference for boys as against girls in regard to school enrolment. In this respect, the percentage difference seems to be higher in Hi-lit villages than in Lo-lit villages (31 points as against 15 points). Regionwise, when both Hi- and Lo-lit villages are combined, Manikganj appears to show a greater degree of discrimination against girls compared to Natore. The partial explanation may be that Northern Bengal has long been known to be less conservative and in favour of female education, although for generally larger participation in schooling, the region has not been as enthusiastic as the region east of the rivers Padma and Jamuna.

There appear to be some common characteristics across villages of households found to be sending or not sending children to school. Those sending all or part of their children to school tend to have a higher economic status, and a larger family-size than those never sending any of their children to school. Hence one may conclude that household-size is not a deterrent to school enrolment, partly because larger household-size is found to be generally associated with higher economic status.

207

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5. Synthesis of the household analysis

Introduction

Our analysis thus far has been more or less descriptive, introducing the setting of the study villages and the households. Development as the process behind achieving a better quality of life, and the quality of life in turn contributing to the process of development, has been the paradigm of the present study. Education and the concept of integration (one important indicator of which is participation) are enmeshed both as cause and effect variables.

Most of our variables are considered to be not only correlated but also interrelated; for example, income may lead to education, and education in turn may lead to further income, and so on. In such processes, time is an important dimension. For example, land-ownership, for long held to be the only or major determinant of rural power and affluence, is gradually and in certain locations losing its over-arching strength. In Manikganj, for instance, landlessness due to exploitation or land having been washed away by rivers, nearness to the metropolis connected by highways, opportunities for salaried jobs, and above all a growing number of families having learned to invest in trade and business—all these processes have entailed a search for alternatives to the possession of land. In this connection it may be worth while to discuss the common allegation that research villages at easy communication points from the city are usually selected. Hence there is said to be a bias in favour of better-off and developed villages. Our present and previous researches have, however, come across quite a number of villages in the urban periphery or within a few kilometres from the busiest (Asian) highway, which were in the poorest condition, as if to prove the dictum of 'darkness below the lamp'. Some of the villages have not been reached at all by modernization or development; to quote one author, a twentieth-century highway often passes close to a village sleeping in the sixteenth century. The so-called development thrust, notably the urban pull, has tended to impoverish some villages; our low-literacy village in Manikganj is a case in point. Leaders elected for local government in such villages near cities and towns frequently have urban business interests and spend most of their time there.

Villagers may perceive quality of life quite differently from the researchers. In certain regions, especially in northern Bengal with scorching sunshine, even affluent families consider open-field toilets as more hygienic than suffocating closed latrines. A full meal of rice soaked in water overnight and with a sprinkle of salt and red pepper is considered by many as more invigorating than a modern breakfast. Traditional healing with herbs often works miracles. It is not uncommon to find families simultaneously relying on religious blessing, amulets and modern medicine. Bangladesh rural society shows great variety in blending the traditional (including superstition) with the modern (including distortions).

There no longer exists a feudal-type family in the village, reminiscent of the

208 BEST COPY AVAILABLE

landed aristocracy. In our study villages, in common with most of the 68,000 villages of Bangladesh, the emerging top families have taken the character of surplus farmer-cum-trader-cum-moneylender. They are not necessarily the most efficient producers. Nor do they appear to have lapsed into conspicuous consumption or consumerism. Law-and-order problems in recent years in the rural areas, and the attraction of urban life and amenities, appear to have been denuding the villages of both human (e.g. educated leadership, able-bodied youth, etc.) and financial resources. Over the generations, Bangladesh's rural society has been generally getting poorer. There has, however, been considerable mobility in the rural families: the upper strata have increased over the last three or four generations, but the downward movement has been spectacular and alarming. For example, landlessness or marginalization has increased from some 20 per cent to over 50 per cent. Low income, illiteracy, unemployment, low productivity, high population growth-rate—all this is considered to be responsible for this state of affairs. With one of the best fertile lands of the world, with abundance of human labour and water (with appropriate management) and sunshine, the country could be affluent.

The variables

The above remarks, though sketchy, have been made for readers to consider the analysis that follows in the proper perspective. The mode of this analysis has necessarily been more in the line of 'understanding' than 'explanation'.

For the purpose of the following analysis, most variables were trichotomized, with ordinal scores generally labelled as high, medium and low. This was to simplify the more complex scales, e.g. the 5-points scales for economic status, social status, etc. In some cases dichotomies had to be retained (e.g. whether or not member of an organization, etc.).

The 12 variables which were transformed in this manner are listed in Table 12. For each of them, five frequency distributions are given: for all villages combined; for high-literacy villages; for low-literacy villages; for villages in Manikganj *Thana* and for villages in Natore *Thana.*

TABLE 12. Frequency distribution of the twelve variables
Variable 1. Schooling of children

	All villages	Hi-lit villages	Lo-lit villages	Manikganj	Natore
Hi: All children attending school	48	72	21	42	53
Me: Some children attending school	12	11	14	19	7
Lo: None attended	40	17	65	39	40
Total[1]	(105)	(54)	(51)	(48)	(57)

1. Total refers to households with children aged 5-14.

209

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Variable 2. Family's educational level[1]

Category	All	Hi	Lo	Manikganj	Natore
Hi: SSC pass & above	20	33	6	16	23
Me: Gr. 1 to Gr. 10	42	45	39	40	44
Lo: Illiterate	38	22	55	44	33
Total	(105)	(54)	(51)	(48)	(57)

1. Highest education received by any family member aged 15+.

Variable 3. Head's educational level

Category	All	Hi	Lo	Manikganj	Natore
Hi: SSC pass & above	15	24	6	21	11
Me: Gr. 1 to Gr. 10	37	46	27	35	39
Lo: Illiterate	48	30	67	44	50
Total	(105)	(54)	(51)	(48)	(57)

Variable 4. Economic status

Category	All	Hi	Lo	Manikganj	Natore
Hi: Rich	18	24	12	15	21
Me: Subsistence	30	26	33	27	32
Lo: Poor	52	50	55	58	47
Total	(105)	(54)	(51)	(48)	(57)

Variable 5. Income status

Income category	All	Hi	Lo	Manikganj	Natore
Hi: Tk. 20,000 & above	17 (19)	22 (23)	12 (16)	14 (12)	19 (25)
Me: Tk. 6,001-19,999	39 (42)	44 (49)	33 (35)	40 (44)	39 (43)
Lo: Tk. up to 6,000	44 (39)	34 (28)	55 (49)	46 (44)	42 (32)
Total[1]	142 (104)	73 (53)	69 (51)	65 (48)	77 (56)

1. Figures in brackets indicate families with children aged 5-14.

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Variable 6. Expenditure status

Expenditure category	All	Hi	Lo	Manikganj	Natore
Hi: Tk. 20,000 & above	13 (16)	17 (21)	8 (11)	12 (13)	14 (19)
Me: Tk. 6,001-19,999	44 (47)	49 (51)	38 (41)	44 (43)	44 (49)
Lo: Tk. up to 6,000	43 (37)	34 (28)	54 (48)	44 (43)	42 (32)
Total[1]	136 (99)	73 (53)	63 (46)	63 (46)	73 (53)

1. Figures in brackets indicate families with children aged 5-14.

Variable 7. Level of living

Level of living score[1]	All	Hi	Lo	Manikganj	Natore
Hi: 22-32	16 (18)	28 (31)	3 (4)	19 (20)	17 (13)
Me: 12-21	43 (45)	54 (56)	30 (33)	44 (42)	46 (44)
Lo: 5-11	41 (37)	18 (13)	67 (63)	37 (38)	37 (48)
Total	105 (143)	54 (74)	51 (69)	48 (65)	57 (78)

1. Composite score based on the possession of modern household items (see Section IV).

Variable 8. Social status

Category	All	Hi	Lo	Manikganj	Natore
Hi:	12 (12)	18 (19)	6 (6)	11 (8)	13 (16)
Me:	24 (25)	27 (27)	22 (22)	22 (24)	27 (28)
Lo:	64 (63)	55 (54)	72 (72)	67 (71)	60 (56)
Total	143 (105)	74 (54)	69 (51)	65 (48)	78 (57)

Variable 9. Housing status

Category	All	Hi	Lo	Manikganj	Natore
Hi: Pucca, semi-*pucca*	13 (12)	22 (19)	4 (6)	25 (21)	4 (5)
Me: Semi-*kutcha*	43 (50)	50 (57)	36 (41)	55 (64)	33 (37)
Lo: Kutcha	44 (38)	28 (24)	60 (53)	20 (25)	63 (58)
Total	143 (105)	74 (54)	64 (51)	65 (48)	78 (57)

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Variable 10. Land ownership

Land in acres	All	Hi	Lo	Manikganj	Natore
Hi: 5 and above	15 (20)	16 (20)	14 (20)	6 (8)	23 (30)
Me: 0.51-4.99	46 (50)	46 (50)	45 (49)	42 (48)	49 (51)
Lo: 0-0.50	39 (30)	38 (30)	41 (31)	52 (44)	28 (19)
Total	143 (105)	74 (54)	69 (51)	65 (48)	78 (57)

Variable 11. Occupational status

Category[1]	All	Hi	Lo	Manikganj	Natore
3: Agr. + Ser./Bus + Ser./Bus + Agr.	22 (22)	31 (33)	12 (10)	22 (22)	21 (21)
2: Ser./Bus.	26 (30)	23 (28)	29 (33)	15 (21)	35 (39)
1: Agr.	14 (11)	24 (19)	03 (02)	26 (19)	4 (4)
0: Lab, begging, unemployed	38 (37)	22 (20)	57 (55)	37 (38)	41 (37)
Total	143 (105)	74 (54)	69 (51)	65 (48)	78 (57)

1. Most households combine a secondary or even tertiary occupation with their primary one, throughout the year or seasonally. Based on this observation, we have constituted the four occupational-status categories as follows:
Major single occupational categories—A. Agricultural production, B. Labour (agricultural & non-agricultural), C. Service/business/profession. With the order in the pairs of A., B., C. denoting primary and secondary occupation, our scheme becomes:
3: (A+C) + (C+A)
2: C
1: A
0: (B) + (A+B) + (B+A) + (B+C) + (A+B+C) + others (of low status, e.g. beggar, invalid, unemployed, etc.).
We observe that a suitable combination of agriculture and business/service/profession maximizes one's socio-economic status, rather than pursuit of a single occupation. Day labour, whether singly or in combination with any other occupation, gives a depressed status to the household.

Variable 12. Organizational participation

Whether ever been member of a local organisation	All	Hi	Lo	Manikganj	Natore
Yes	8 (9)	12 (11)	4 (6)	14 (12)	4 (5)
No	92 (91)	88 (89)	96 (94)	86 (88)	96 (95)
Total	145 (105)	74 (54)	69 (51)	65 (48)	78 (57)

Literacy as a factor in rural development

The basic approach of this study has been to compare two sets of villages which, besides being situated in two distinct geographical locations, differ markedly in their general level of literacy.

It is the possible influence of this latter variable, i.e. literacy, which this section attempts to trace in more detail. Even a cursory glance at the frequency

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distributions presented above suggests that Hi-lit and Lo-lit villages have different profiles in respect of various socio-economic development indicators. But are these differences statistically significant, given the limited size of our household sample? To what extent can they be attributed to the influence which higher or lower levels of literacy in a village may exert on economic and social status, level of living, demand for education, occupational structure, etc.?

We have analysed this question by means of the Chi-square test, a well-known measure of statistical contingency. The observed Chi-square values were tested for significance at a minimal error probability of 0.001. Yet, as the general concern of this study is one of understanding rather than explaining, we prefer to be careful in drawing causal inferences regarding the rôle of literacy as a factor in rural development.

The first and most obvious finding is that literacy seems to be positively associated with the interest in and demand for education among sample households. When high- and low-literacy villages were compared in respect of children's educational participation, family's educational level, and head's educational level, Chi-square turned out to be significant (at 0.001 level, 2df) in all three cases. For all three variables, the difference between Hi-lit and Lo-lit villages is particularly marked at the extremes of the educational continuum, i.e. in the proportion of households sending all *vs.* none of their children to school, and having attained a secondary-school certificate *vs.* being completely illiterate.

Our second observation refers to the association of literacy with socio-economic achievement in a rural context. In statistical terms at least, the general level of literacy in a village does not seem to make any difference in respect of economic and social status, income, expenditure, landownership, and type of house a family lives in (variables 4, 5, 6, 8, 9 and 10). The Chi-square computed for these variables turned out to be insignificant (at 0.001 level, 2 df). Yet, as we scrutinize their frequency-distributions, it becomes quite clear that more households in Hi-lit villages tend to be in the higher categories of economic and social status, income, expenditure, and housing. As regards economic status, in particular, it appears that in moving from a high- to a low-literacy situation, the proportion of households in the 'poor' category remains almost constant—the squeeze taking place in the middle.

Ownership and size of land-holdings are not related to literacy in any discernible way. The real difference seems to be between regions, Manikganj *Thana* suffering from considerable land scarcity. Very few families there own 5 acres or more, and almost 40 per cent have no cultivable land at all.

The third observation which our analysis suggests is that a close, and statistically significant, relationship exists between literacy and what one might call 'modernization indicators'. Variable 7 (level of living), which is based on the availability of modern household items in the sample families, might be seen as one such indicator; the same is true of variable 11 which denotes, essentially, the growing diversification of occupational practice in the rural setting. To

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these we have added two further variables which refer to the diversification of income sources and of household expenditure patterns, respectively. Their frequency distributions across our sample are shown in Tables 13 and 14.

TABLE 13. Distribution of incomes by source (in percentage of total income)

Category	All	Hi-lit	Lo-lit	Manikganj	Natore
Agricultural products	54	44	69	31	70
Service (salaried)	24	37	4	42	11
Day labour (agricultural)	10	5	18	10	11
Day labour (non-agricultural)	2	1	4	2	2
Business/profession	10	13	5	15	6
Total income ('000 *Taka)*	(1,499)	(912)	(587)	(642)	(857)

TABLE 14. Household expenditure patterns (in percentage of total expenditure)

Items	All	Hi-lit	Lo-lit	Manikganj	Natore
Food	71.9	70.4	74.3	72.8	71.2
Clothing	8.7	8.4	9.2	7.7	9.4
House repairing	4.1	2.1	7.7	1.6	6.0
Education	3.5	4.6	1.6	3.0	3.9
Medical	3.4	3.6	3.1	2.1	4.4
Ceremonies, culture	7.3	10.0	2.6	12.2	3.7
Luxuries	1.1	0.9	1.5	0.6	1.5
Total ('000 Taka)	(1 363)	(861)	(502)	(588)	(755)

Unlike the socio-economic achievement variables, discussed above, these four variables discriminate very well between high- and low-literacy villages. Chi-square is significant in all cases.

Villages in which general literacy is high, thus have more diversified sources of income: while agriculture is still the principal income-earner, other sources (such as salaried service, or small business) are gaining in importance; day-labour as a source of income diminishes in comparison to low-literacy villages. This corresponds to an occupational structure which, in Hi-lit villages, is characterized by much more frequent combinations of business/service/profession and agriculture, in which any of these four may be the primary occupation.

Hi-lit villages also possess a greater number and variety of 'modern' household items; 31 per cent of their households, as against only 4 per cent in Lo-lit villages, are accordingly characterized by a high level-of-living score. Their expenditure patterns, too, are significantly different: not unexpectedly, high-literacy villages spend less on food, clothing, and house repairs, and more on education, medical services, ceremonies and cultural activities.

214 BEST COPY AVAILABLE

With due caution, one might say that these findings tend to corroborate the research paradigm that has guided the present study: literacy as a global indicator of educational advancement seems to be related less with tangible indicators of socio-economic achievement (i.e. higher economic and social status, better housing, more income, household expenditure, etc.) than with a varied set of 'intermediate' variables, which include a more active interest in education, and more diversified income sources, occupational combinations, and consumption patterns. Literacy, in other words, may create certain preconditions for rural development, without bringing about development itself.

It remains for us to examine the possible links between literacy and participation in village-level development organizations—an aspect of considerable theoretical and practical importance. Unfortunately, our findings in this respect are largely negative: looking at the frequency distribution of variable 12 (organizational participation), one is struck by the absence of any noticeable difference between Hi-lit and Lo-lit villages. Whatever the level of literacy, the overwhelming majority of household heads and other family members have not been involved in such organizations as the village co-operative society, local government, village defence party, etc.

Factors associated with schooling of children

If literacy thus seems to be an important factor in rural development, it is equally interesting to consider the question of which socio-economic factors may in turn be conducive to educational advancement in a village.

We have examined this question by computing the statistical correlations between schooling of children and the remaining 11 variables that were presented earlier. For each pair of variables, five sets of Pearson's *r* are shown, i.e. all villages together; high-literacy villages across regions; low-literacy villages across regions; villages of Manikganj region; and villages of Natore region (Table 15).

TABLE 15. Correlations between schooling of children and socio-economic variables

	All villages	Hi-lit villages	Lo-lit villages	Manikganj	Natore
Family education	.63	.52	.56	.55	.69
Head's education	.45	.26	.38	.46	.46
Economic status	.45	.32	.64	.39	.49
Income	.54	.51	.55	.56	.56
Expenditure	.56	.47	.59	.54	.57
Level of living	.68	.47	.63	.61	.73
Social status	.45	.43	.38	.39	.49
Housing	.31	.03	.34	.27	.45
Land ownership	.38	.46	.42	.16	.54
Occupation	.57	.43	.56	.38	.71
Organizational participation	.05	−.12	.13	.12	−.03

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For all villages together, the correlations found are significantly positive except in the case of variable 12, 'organizational participation'; it will be recalled that the latter is so uniformly low in most households interviewed that neither educational nor other socio-economic factors seem to make any difference. Children's schooling is, on the other hand, closely associated with such variables as the general level of family education, the level of living as denoted by availability of modern household items, income, expenditures, and occupational status.

While these correlations do not, in themselves, justify any causal inferences, it does appear that better socio-economic conditions of village households are generally conducive to schooling of children, and thus to the future levels of educational attainment in these villages.

Multiple correlations. In order to see how much the introduction of a second variable would add to explain the variation in children's schooling (dependent variable), we went on to use an approach with two independent variables.

Following the procedure given in the footnote,[1] we present in Table 16 a selected number of computations, using 5 variables: X_1 = children's educational participation, X_2 = family education, X_3 = level of living, X_4 = land ownership, and X_5 = occupation.

TABLE 16. Simple and multiple correlations between schooling of children and 4 selected socio-economic variables

	r_{12}	r_{13}	r_{14}	r_{15}	r_{23}	r_{24}	r_{34}	r_{35}
a. All villages	.63	.68	.38	.57	.68	.35	.51	.63
b. Hi-lit villages	.52	.47	.46	.43	.62	.41	.62	.55
c. Lo-lit villages	.56	.63	.42	.56	.59	.31	.52	.63
d. Manikganj	.55	.61	.16	.38	.74	.17	.39	.60
e. Natore	.69	.73	.54	.71	.64	.51	.70	.67
	r^2_{12}	r^2_{13}	r^2_{14}	r^2_{15}	$r^2_{1.23}$	$r^2_{1.24}$	$r^2_{1.25}$	$r^2_{1.26}$
a. All villages	.40	.46	.14	.32	.51	.43	.46	.50
b. Hi-lit villages	.27	.22	.21	.18	.31	.34	.27	.26
c. Lo-lit villages	.31	.40	.18	.31	.45	.38	.41	.44
d. Manikganj	.30	.37	.36	.14	.39	.58	.38	.36
e. Natore	.48	.53	.29	.50	.62	.52	.51	.62

1. The formula used for computing multiple correlations with 2 independent variables is as follows:
If subscripts 1, 2, 3 stand respectively for children's educational participation; level of living; and family's educational level, then $r_{12} = .68$, $r_{13} = .63$, $r_{23} = .68$, and

$$R^2_{1.23} = \frac{r^2_{12} + r^2_{13} - 2r_{12} \times r_{13} \times r_{23}}{1 - r^2_{23}} = .5147$$

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A few relationships are noteworthy: (1) Family educational level predicts children's educational participation best in Natore (r^2 = .48), followed by all villages (r^2 = .40), and least in Hi-lit villages (r^2 = .27). Introducing another variable, i.e. level of living, improves prediction by 11-14 percentage points for all villages, Lo-lit villages and Natore, while for Hi-lit villages the improvement is only 4 percentage points and for Manikganj 9 percentage points. For Hi-lit villages, family's educational level appears to be the best predictor of children's educational participation, while for any other classification and all villages together, level of living appears to be more significant. (2) Landownership alone is the least reliable predictor of children's educational participation, especially for all villages together and Lo-lit villages. It predicts participation best (again only 29 per cent) in Natore. (3) Occupation predicts children's educational participation best in Natore and least in Manikganj and Hi-lit villages. However, addition of 'level of living' as an explanatory variable helps substantially improve prediction, for all categories of villages.

The equalizing impact of literacy

Equality has become an important consideration in both measuring and effecting development. Equality within villages may also be considered to be a prime condition for integration, and especially for community participation. We present in Table 17 a set of coefficients of concentration (Gini)[2] indicating the degree of inequality in respect of selected variables in (i) all villages together, (ii) Hi-lit villages, (iii) Lo-lit villages, iv) Manikganj, and (v) Natore.

TABLE 17. Degrees of inequality in respect of selected socio-economic variables (measured by Gini coefficients)

	All villages	Hi-lit villages	Lo-lit villages	Manikganj	Natore
1. Economic status	.65	.60	.73	.65	.65
2. Social status	.78	.76	.85	.77	.73
3. Income status	.50	.35	.55	.53	.54
4. Expenditure	.56	.45	.67	.58	.58
5. Level of living	.52	.33	.72	.47	.56
6. Land ownership	.80	.79	.85	.92	.63
7. Education (family)	.46	.25	.79	.49	.53
8. Education (heads)	.64	.48	.83	.51	.71

Taking all four villages together, the highest degree of inequality amongst households is observed for landownership (Gini coeff. = .80) followed by social status (.78). In fact, all variables show a rather high degree of inequality—the lowest (i.e. families' level of education) showing a Gini coeff. of .46. However, family-level educational inequality differs significantly between Hi-

1. Gini's coefficient varies from 0 to 1, with higher values indicating higher degrees of inequality.

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and Lo-lit villages—for Hi-lit villages it is only .25, while for Lo-lit villages it is .79, very high indeed. In fact, for all 8 selected variables, Lo-lit villages show a higher degree of inequality than all villages taken together. Regionwise, for most variables the two regions do not show any significant difference in the degree of inequality. However, for landownership the degree of inequality in Manikganj (.92) is extreme, that for Natore being moderately high (.63). In this regard the characteristics of Manikganj should be recalled—scarcity of land with 52 per cent landless or near landless households compared to 28 per cent in Natore, and 6 per cent of the households having each 5 or more acres of land, compared to 23 per cent households in Natore.

However, most important in the context of the present study is the finding that Hi-lit villages show consistently lower degrees of inequality, in respect of all 8 variables selected, than all villages together. We can only conclude that literacy seems to be a very strong factor of social and economic equalization in the rural setting. One particularly redeeming feature of high-literacy villages is that the inequality in the distribution of households in respect of family-level education, level of living and income is really quite low. This appears to be a desirable condition. Whether further thrusts of 'development' will maintain this relative equity, decrease or increase it, will depend much on the policy and action of the state.

Even for high-literacy villages, relatively greater degrees of inequality have been recorded for what we have termed 'social status' and 'economic status'. For modern development, inequality in social and economic status may point to a relative lack of integration and corresponding constraints on development.

The Lo-lit villages consistently show high degrees of inequality (Gini coefficient ranking from .55, .67 to .83, .85) for all our selected indicators. It appears that only a massive effort towards universal primary education, and the simultaneous creation of opportunities for secondary education, may help break the low-level equilibrium in which these villages appear to be trapped.

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221

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APPENDIX I

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APPENDIX II

Technical papers
presented to the Nepal Seminar

1 Orientation note for the Seminar *by IIEP*

2 Action not words: the need to make education a force for rural development *by N. Bennett*

3 Primary schools and rural development: the African experience *by U. Bude*

4 Literacy for integrated rural development *by J. Müller*

5 Education in integrated rural development: what education? *by P. Rakotomalala*

6 The primary school's rôle in development: services for the improvement of local living conditions—facts and fallacies from the Cameroon *by U. Bude*

7 Notes on integrated rural development and education *by P. Spitz*

8 Education and rural development: some actions and experiments in Nepal *by Ministry of Education and Culture, Nepal*

9 Integrated rural development: the Indian experience *by S.P. Vishnoi*

10 Education and productivity in the peasant economy of Latin America *by A. Figueroa*

11 The diversification of the educational field *by IIEP*

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This book is the final outcome of a research project which was started in 1981 by the International Institute for Educational Planning under the title 'Planning and Management of Formal and Nonformal Education within Integrated Rural Development Projects'. Much attention has been given to rural development, and to the key rôle of education therein, throughout the Second Development Decade. But the concepts have evolved: rural development goes considerably beyond agricultural growth, and the increasing diversification of education takes it far outside the confines of the school.

To take stock of these changes, the Institute commissioned three case studies, carried out by national teams in Bangladesh, Ethiopia and India. These empirical studies, which appear in Part Two of this volume, examine with great caution what can — and what can *not* — be expected from education, and seek to identify the conditions in which specific educational programmes achieve results. These analyses, together with other relevant material, were then discussed at an International Seminar held in Nepal in May 1984, which was attended by the authors of the studies and by eminent specialists from all regions of the world. The proceedings of this Seminar, which have inspired Part One of this book, enable us to pinpoint more clearly the real rôle of education as a force of rural development, and set out soberly and concretely the relevant issues for educational planning and research in the coming years.

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227